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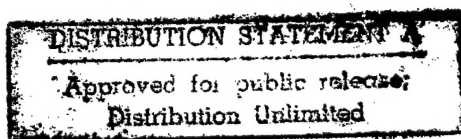
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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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5 September 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

INTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY PLENUM DISCUSSES DISCIPLINE, CORRUPTION

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 12 Jun 85 pp 1-2

[Article by Major Vacho Radulov: "Plenum of the Rayon Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party at the Ministry of Internal Affairs: Example for Greater Party Responsibility and Demands"]

[Text] The rayon party organization -- a moving force in the struggle to improve the style and methods of work, to bring about a turning point in the state of discipline * The work of the communists-- a higher standard for their spiritual and political maturity * The health and physical condition of employees-- important prerequisites for their active professional conduct.

The plena of the Rayon Committee of the party at the Ministry of Internal Affairs have always been events of great importance for the life and work of the agencies of order and security. This was also confirmed by the work of the last plenum which took place in the hall of the Sofia City Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It discussed implementation of the resolutions of the plenum of the Rayon Committee on discipline in light of the resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on 18 April 1985. Also discussed were the problems of health and physical condition of the employees of the central units and Sofia City Administration in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the role and place of the party agencies and organizations and the operations management for its support.

The plenum was opened and directed by the Secretary of the Rayon Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Georgi Shkutov. Taking part in the proceedings were candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Minister of Internal Affairs, Colonel General Dimitur Stoyanov, Deputy Section Head of Social and National Security of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Lieutenant General Todor Radulov, and Section Head of Military Administration of the Sofia City Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Major General Kolyo Todorov. In addition to members and candidate members of the Rayon Committee of the party, also here were chiefs of central units, secretaries of permanent commissions and primary party organizations

directly accountable, nonmembers of the Rayon Committee, members of the Bureau of the Rayon Committee and presidents of the revisory committees in the units staff workers of the party, comsomol and trade-unions, members of the Committee for State and People's Control at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, executives of personnel services, the health service, athletics, sport and tourism in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The First Secretary of the Rayon Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Nikola Lalchev, presented an analytical and very well-founded report on the questions of discipline. He pointed out that in the conditions of an intensifying international and operative setting, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party is setting new tasks and increased demands for the agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to consolidate discipline and general law and order overall, to increase political vigilance and to mobilize everyone's forces to implement fully the resolutions of the twelfth party congress and to have a good meeting of the thirteenth. The party decrees were specified in the resolution of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and in the report of candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Minister of Internal Affairs, Lieutenant General Dimitur Stoyanov, presented at the national conference with party, state and local leaders on 16 May 1985.

Coming to the foreground now is the question of unflinching application of the political approach to all our party and business activities, of reinforcing political vigilance, discipline and professional activity in every communist and employee. Our work in fulfilling the actual tasks which the agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs fulfilled during recent months in the struggle against crime for sound public order and security was an audit of our readiness in this respect. Our communists demonstrated their resolve and will to transform into deeds the demands of the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Rayon Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Speaking frankly, however, the analysis of weaknesses (particularly in connection with the crime of the former militiaman Nikolay Gavrilov) shows unequivocally that in places elementary regulations and official duties are not being implemented. The struggle for strict discipline has not become the personal concern and care of all operations and party management in the ministry. For some, words prevail over deeds, often they shift their responsibility to higher management. It is not surprising that in such a situation here and there weeds are flourishing, the weeds of philistine complacency and self-satisfaction, of intercession and self-promotion, of accommodation and unscrupulousness in business relations. But there is no smoke without fire. Complacency and indulgence reduce the social functions of control and audit. And then orders and instructions are forgotten and disregarded. There is and can be no room for digression here. An audit is not a simple undertaking but a means of going over and reorganizing things. It must cut the ground from under the feet of those who systematically violate discipline and abuse alcohol and power, and conclude with a public announcement of their dismissal from the agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The clash must be open, honest and uncompromising, in both primary party organizations and in business collectives. Party, business and public

reaction must always be anticipated and coordinated with individual instructive influence, and not follow the violations. Party, comsomol and trade-union leaders must lead a daily dialogue with people on the question of discipline, not an incidental dialogue when the occasion warrants.

Successful implementation of this line of strict demands everywhere and in everything puts on probation and will continue to put on probation our party conscience, our feeling of responsibility, the ability of our operations and party management to be an attractive positive example and an image of communist feistiness and self-sacrifice, of demand and selfdemand. There is no other way. These times are divisive.* Only those who think and act as revolutionaries will be equal to their task, those who bring to their task creative zeal and business-like attitudes, competence and professionalism. All else is smouldering and inertia, drowning in meetings and paperwork, in impressive undertakings and empty ritualism.

The work of the professional staff is also in need of considerable improvement. Instructions for its implementation must become for everyone a single and unalterable law. Improvement in staff discipline requires that, in the future, the personnel process is interwoven with party work, proceeds under strict party control and observes one-man management. This is the major concern and responsibility of the whole rayon party organization. Today, declared Comrade N. Lalchev, the party requires us to guarantee security and public order in the country, to create conditions for creative work for the people, for a good meeting of the thirteenth congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party .

Lieutenant General Kiril Maslenkov, Chief of the Personnel Department at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Colonel Stoyan Tashenov, Chief of the Department of Political Education at the State People's Militia, spoke in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism. They dwelled on the resources for improving the selection and education of the professional staff, of extending resources for their training in moral and volitional understanding and of the necessity of instruction being delivered at a time and place that reflect the conditions of work for the staff.

Comrade Todor Radulov raised the question of increasing the role of party agencies and organizations in improving discipline and implementing the personnel process, of objective and complete party appraisals in promoting professional staff, of frequently indicating their positive and negative qualities, of setting up competitive principles. This is the way to increase the role of the primary party organizations in personnel work, to express the party virtue always to tell the truth boldly about everything and everyone.

The plenum resolved to withdraw from the staff of the Rayon Committee and its bureau B. Bozhilov, former Secretary of the Permanent Commission in the Sofia City Administration at the Ministry of Internal Affairs for violation of the requirements of the statutes of the Bulgarian Communist Party and for disparaging control over party political business with regard to discipline. Making commitments were members of the Rayon Committee, Permanent Commission, Politburo and Primary Party Organization, and the Georgian Rayon Committee of

the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union was ordered to intensify its efforts to improve discipline and vigilance.

The secretary of the Rayon Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Tsvetko Tsvetkov, presented a report devoted to the health and physical condition of employees of the central units and Sofia City Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the role and place of party agencies and organizations and the operations management required to improve it. He pointed out that these questions had always received attention from the operations management of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Rayon Committee of the party, and that their solution has been and is considered an important activity in the fulfilment of the social policies of the party at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Many resources for housing and other constructions have been and are being mastered, for buying technology with the aim of improving the working and living conditions of employees. Great care is being taken for the health of the people, for the creation of material and organizational prerequisites to popularize sport and tourism. In that respect, we are fulfilling a series of long-term programs, approved by the leadership of the ministry and the Rayon Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Thanks to the activity of party and operations management, more employees are participating in the republican field-days and in the mastery of the martial arts, as a result of which the obligatory sports standards have been reached. Ministerial order No I-89 of 26 March 1981 has also been fulfilled.

Construction of the extension at the military hospital of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is proceeding according to plan. Efforts are being made to raise the qualifications of the medical workers, to develop health centers in the units and specialized teams in the hospital. Work on the sanatoria and rest homes is developing at an accelerated pace. Gains have been made with the approval of complex health prophylaxis and early diagnosis of certain specific diseases.

However, party and operations management have still not turned their full attention to these questions. The poor physical endurance of some of the staff is disquieting, as is the spread of chronic illnesses and harmful habits (alcohol abuse, tobacco smoking and immobility). There is still much to be desired with respect to the quality of medical and diagnostic treatment in the hospital, the health culture of the employees, poor sports physique in the unit and protection from risk factors at work.

The speaker pointed out that it was high time for all communist leaders to harness their efforts to convert participation in sports into a conscious, professional duty for all employees, both where they work and where they live.

The following people participated in the discussions following the reports: Lieutenant General Iliya Donchev, Chief of the Central Advance Detachment Administration, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and President of the Rear Patrol "Murgash", Ministry of Internal Affairs; Lieutenant Nikolay Golemanov, Deputy Chief of the Home Front Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Chief of the Medical Department in the Bureau; Lieutenant Nikolay Nedkov, Deputy Chief of the Department of Athletics and Sport, Ministry of Internal Affairs; Ivan

Ivanov, First Secretary of the Rayon Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union, Ministry of Internal Affairs and others.

The plenum resolved that further improvements be made to strengthen the health and physical condition of the employees.

It is impossible in two words to express everything that the participants will remember about their work in this plenum of the rayon committee of the party. Reared and nurtured in the example of the revolutionary traditions and virtues of our glorious party, of whole generations of selfless employees at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, they expressed their resolve with deeds to defend the name, honor and prestige of our rayon party organization, always to look honestly and self-critically at its party, business and public activities. At the plenum they gave the example of how the communist at the Ministry of Internal Affairs must respond to every call of the party and the times, how he should stay healthy and confident in the throes of his fighting workday, however difficult and exhausting it may be. So as to justify the pure faith and great confidence of the people, long since used to look with hope into the eyes of the defenders of their rights and interests -- the employees of the iron guard of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. That is our duty. There are no limits. The limits are the borders of our whole life. The direction of our duty is the social formation of the people. This duty is a test and a struggle, with everything around us and within us that prevents us from advancing. Indeed, it will be worth it if our strength and youth leaves us in this struggle to realize the great communist ideals.

* Probably intentional reference to the book "Vreme Razdelno"

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BULGARIA

SELECTION OF CADRES AT INTERNAL MINISTRY DISCUSSED

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 19 Jun 85 pp 1-3

[Article by Lieutenant Alexandur Anastasov, Secretary of the Party Committee at the Okrug Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Plovdiv: "The role of the party organization in personnel affairs"]

[Text] The question of the correct selection, training and education of professional staff, of their most expedient posting and management has always taken a central place in the entire activity of the Okrug Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Plovdiv. To a large extent, the solution to this problem is predetermined by the fighting capacity of its individual employees and subdivisions, their readiness to cope successfully with the complex and primary tasks at all levels of development of socialist society. Beyond this, in personnel affairs there have always been problems that have not been completely resolved, weaknesses and omissions that have found expression in the insufficient appraisal of the role of party organizations in this activity, their formal participation in it, in the confirmation, in some cases, of single-handed decisions concerning personnel questions by communist managers.

In the audit of the Okrug Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, completed in Plovdiv during 1982 by the Department of Social and National Security of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, just such weakness and omissions were found in our work. The report of the audit underlined that "serious violation of principle in the selection and promotion of professional staff" had been tolerated "that the opinion of the party committee and party bureaus had not been taken on the appointment, transfer and dismissal of professional staff, that in a number of cases the class-party approach had been violated and employees had been promoted without the necessary qualifications by intercession and preference..."

In implementing the recommendations of the commission from the Department of Social and National Security of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the resolution of the Okrug Administration of the Bulgarian Communist Party of 14 May 1982, the party committee and the operations management of the Okrug Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have developed extensive measures to eliminate the weaknesses and bring about a radical change in personnel affairs. It was clear to us that we could not

achieve our goal with half-measures, that the time was ripe for total reorganization of personnel affairs - the formation of such a system that excludes the possibility of tolerating errors and biased decisions in personnel issues. We found the solution to this situation after an in-depth study of the experience of the party committee of the KGB in the USSR with personnel work. With very little effort we were able to apply this experience successfully in our conditions.

In the search for the best solution to the reorganization of our activity in this direction, the full understanding, unanimity of goals, tasks and actions between the party committee and operations management was of great assistance. This enabled us to reorganize our work in a short time, to create the system and to start putting it into practice immediately.

Thus the problem of selection of professional staff became a concern of all the sections of the Okrug Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, not just the personnel department. Both the Party Committee and the Primary Party Organization played a role in this activity. For every open position, at least three candidates began to be trained who, according to their records, were considered most advanced by the operations and party management in the subdivision and then by a session of the commission on personnel affairs at the Okrug Administration. The final decision was taken in a session of the Council of the Okrug Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In this way it became impossible for employees without the necessary political and business qualifications to take positions in the agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The increased control and demands of the Party Committee and the Primary Party Organization toward communists who participated directly in training the candidates contributed to this. As a standing procedure of party work, approval was made for periodic discussion of appraisals of the quality of work of the Personnel Department and of the operations management in the subdivision of the Okrug Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the selection of professional staff, their training and instruction. We began more frequently to seek help and cooperation from party committees and staff management of enterprises and institutions to send the brightest workers and employees on commission to work in the agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The problem of promoting employees to more responsible positions also found a correct solution. From March 1982 until now, there has been no case of an employee being promoted to a more responsible position without the party references of the candidate having been considered and found acceptable by the respective Primary Party Organization and the Party Committee. The adopted system had the prior consent of the Department of Military Administration of the Okrug Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. For all professional staff nominated by the Party Committee, references are considered and accepted in a session of the Politburo and assemblies of Primary Party Organizations and are confirmed in a sitting of the committee. For those nominated by the Municipal and Okrug Committee of the Bulgarian communist party, the references are considered and accepted in a sitting of the Party Committee and confirmed by the Department of War Administration of the Okrug Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Thus considered, accepted and confirmed, the references are attached to the proposal for promotion.

This form of procedure has met with the full approval of all employees. In many cases, consideration of references occurs with full participation of the communists who make critiques and give recommendations for future positions for the candidates.

As we notice the positive changes in personnel affairs we believe that we have achieved everything in that respect. We are now paying considerable attention to the quality because even the best system cannot ensure utmost efficacy in work if it is not executed with content. We must grapple with certain omissions and weaknesses in training candidates, with aspirations to develop party references fully in a positive light with insufficient criticisms and without recommendations to eliminate weaknesses, with the inability of individual communist managers to liberate themselves entirely from the old style of work.

Increasing the role of the Party Committee and the Primary Party Organizations to still greater participation in dealing with personnel affairs requires, in our opinion, a more exact regulation of the role and place of the party in the agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, of her functions and tasks, of the rights and obligations of party committees and party organizations, of the structure of the party organizations in the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Resolving these problems is of exceptionally great importance for the increased quality and efficacy not only in dealing with professional staff but also in increasing the quality and efficacy of the entire political and organizational, ideological and party-organizational work in the agencies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

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BULGARIA

MEASURES TO ENHANCE CRIME PREVENTION DURING TOURIST SEASON

Sofia NARODEN STRAZH in Bulgarian 19 Jun . 85 p3

[Article by Major Iliya Belorechki: "Pressing Problems During the Tourist Season"]

[Text] Recently an instructive meeting was held at the Rayon Administration of the People's Militia in "Golden Sands" with management personnel from the zayon administrations of the People's Militia along the Black Sea coastal strip.

The meeting was opened and directed by the Deputy Chief of the Department of Security of Public Order at the State People's Militia, Lieutenant Colonel Ivan Rafailov, who noted that the People's Republic of Bulgaria was one of the countries with a developed tourist economy, for which the agencies of the People's Militia had a certain share.

Lieutenant Traycho Lazarov, Head of the CVMT at the YOOR, State People's Militia, gave a report on the work of personnel from the Rayon Administration in improving efficacy in the security of public order, in the struggle against economic and criminal crime in the tourist complexes and impending tasks during the active tourist season in 1985. He underlined that the complexity and dynamics of the operational situation was conditioned by the fact that, during the active tourist season, persons of criminal intent head from the interior of the country to the Black Sea and establish criminal connections with both local citizens and foreign tourists. The speaker gave an account of the results achieved in 1984 and the first four months of 1985, giving a positive evaluation of the wide-ranging and extensive work of the militiaman in the line of duty. He analyzed the reasons for various weaknesses and shortcomings in the work, for red-tape, lack of initiative and creativity in certain leaders.

The main problems that would be addressed during the tourist season were outlined.

An entire complex system will be built for the organization of work on the security of public order and socialist property, the struggle against economic and criminal crime, safety of movement and prevention of incidents

with undesirable consequences; the work of DOT and the preventative councils will be improved.

The quality and efficacy of observation of passport and paper control will be improved by organizing 2-day sessions with officials who are concerned with address registration.

Investigations by the economic and criminal departments will be improved, with the aim of improving public order, preventing deception of and damage to tourists, and in time discovering the perpetrators of the crimes and improving preventative work.

A strict permit system will be instituted using shelters and other sites along the Black Sea, to keep law and order on the beaches.

The level of discipline will be increased, socialist law will be strictly kept and officers will be courteous and gracious toward citizens.

Lieutenant Ivan Tsanev, Chief of the Rayon Administration of the People's Militia in "Golden Sands" noted that greater results had been achieved thanks to improved mutual information and cooperation between the Rayon Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Balchik and the TK in "Sunny Beach".

Lieutenant Stoyan Khristozov, Chief of the Rayon Administration of the People's Militia in "Sunny Beach" dwelled on some new forms of manifestation of currency and smuggling crimes.

Major Veselin Tsvetkov, Chief of the Department of Security in the Rayon Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Balchik, evaluated the efficacy of initiation of a complex system of security for public order especially in vulnerable areas.

Other participants also addressed the questions under discussion in the meeting.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

U.S. CRITICIZED FOR AGGRESSIVE MILITARISM

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 85 p 1

[Excerpt] We live in a century in which mankind has experienced more revolutionary changes than in all of its previous history. By a leap, mankind has escaped beyond the imagination of all visionaries of past eras, it has penetrated never before imagined gates of knowledge. However, it was unable to prevent two world wars, it has not been able to avoid the abuse of one of the greatest discoveries in the history of human civilization--the smashing of the atom--for the purpose of killing people. It was American imperialism which, 40 years ago, outlined an apocalyptic vision of the destruction of the world in the fire of nuclear war at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The gamble of the ruling circles of the United States on a nuclear monopoly, which they wanted to utilize for exploitation and even for the purpose of a direct attack against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, was soon bankrupt. The balance of forces between the United States and the USSR, between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact, put an end to the false hopes of the promoters of a hot as well as a cold war, who believed that they could use force to halt the progress of history. In the 1970's the fundamental recognition that in the nuclear age the lessons of military theoreticians of the 19th century regarding war as being a continuation of policy by "other means" was reflected in the political practice of the realistically thinking politicians in the West. Nuclear war would mean the destruction of all life on earth. The peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries were, thus, able to be gradually transformed into concrete agreements. The Soviet-American agreements of SALT 1 and SALT 2, the agreements of the Federal Republic of Germany with the USSR, the Polish People's Republic, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe--these are only some of the principal milestones of the policy of relaxation which has so auspiciously characterized this period.

The confrontational and militaristic direction which was adopted by the policies of American imperialism at the beginning of the 1980's, the officially accepted theory regarding the possibilities of an American victory in a "protracted nuclear war," plans for effecting a first nuclear strike against the USSR and its allies, efforts to abuse space for military purposes--all of this exerted a negative influence on the international atmosphere, on relationships

between countries having differing social systems and led to the unleashing of a new round of the arms race.

Millions of people all over the world justifiably ask the question whether the sharpening of the international situation, the growing arms race and the accumulation of nuclear weapons is an unavoidable development of fate. The socialist countries, which are the principal and decisive support for peace in the world, respond uniformly to this question: It is not fatefully unavoidable. It is possible and in the highest interest of mankind, as well as absolutely essential, to avoid nuclear war. The April meeting of the highest representatives of the nations of the Warsaw Pact, during which the validity of this defensive alliance was extended, stressed: "In the present international situation it is more than ever necessary to unify the efforts of all nations and states, of all peaceful forces irrespective of their political orientation in the interest of seeing to it that the world stop approaching a nuclear catastrophe."

The fortifying of the unity, the solidarity, and the defense preparedness of the nations of the socialist community is a fundamental factor which prevents the forces of war of implementing the malevolent plans of the political, social and territorial revanchist movement to influence changes which have occurred in the map of the world over the past 40 years. And it is precisely the fact that despite many attempts and much pressure, despite blackmail, despite covert and overt subversion, imperialism has been unsuccessful in attaining military superiority over socialism, the socialist community and its defensive Warsaw Pact alliance have not been weakened, that has brought disillusionment to many a Western politician who toyed with the idea that a policy from the position of strength could have some kind of effect.

And that is not all. The provocative rattling of arms, the graduated manifestations of the aggressive nature of American imperialism have called forth such a degree of opposition among the public even in Western countries, such a scope of the peace movement, the antimissile movement in western Europe and in the very United States, that this could not fail but to influence the policy of virtually all of America's allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

It turns out that the West European governing circles began to become aware in this sharpened international situation that the military "solution" of historical disputes between capitalism and socialism is absolutely impossible in the nuclear era and that every attempt to unleash nuclear war against the socialist countries would end in the destruction of its initiators and that illusions with respect to the unpunished execution of a first nuclear strike are mere dreams.

This was reflected, among others, in the entire series of negotiations by the Soviet Union with West European states even in the conversations which Czechoslovakia conducted with them in recent weeks.

The most aggressive imperialist circles, primarily those of the United States, however, have not given up their intentions. This is attested to by the

unwillingness of the United States to seriously negotiate regarding the limitation of arms, regarding the relaxation of the international situation. This is primarily applicable to the Soviet-American conversations regarding cosmic and nuclear weapons in Geneva. In short, the world stands today within sight of the turning point of the millennium, it faces a choice--whether it will go the way of a feverish arms race and an exacerbation of tensions or whether it will seek mutually acceptable solutions which will halt the process of material preparations for a nuclear war and will definitely ward off its threat.

In this great struggle the immeasurable activity, the international influence and strength of the socialist community plays a decisive role on the side of the forces of peace. And it is necessary to once again repeat that the unity, solidarity, economic and defense strength, a jointly coordinated approach among socialist countries on the international scene--these are keys to the peaceful future of the world. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is a firm and active member of the socialist community, our foreign policy has no higher goal than to accomplish everything in the interest of preserving peace and of warding off the threat of nuclear war.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, JULY 1985

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 7, Jul 85 (signed to press 12 Jun 85)
pp 578, 670, 672

[Summary of article by Rosemarie Winzer, PhD, lecturer and deputy director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology of the Academy for Social Sciences at the SED Central Committee]

[Text] On Value and Meaning of High Performances

What interest do the working people have in a behavior in the work that aims at high performances, how does it become effective and what has to be taken into account in management activity? Wherein lies the value of the performance for personality development?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Erich Hahn, member of the SED Central Committee, director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy of the Academy for Social Sciences at the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR Scientific Council for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 598-604. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Socialist Ideology--Driving Force of Deliberate Action

The driving forces of socialism require deliberate development. They act by being ideologically disclosed and acquired on the basis and in the process of the change of social essence. What role and function does socialist ideology fulfill as driving force of action, especially in the achievement of the economic strategy of our party? What is important in fully opening up this intellectual driving force?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Lutz-Guenther Fleischer, sc. techn., URANIA vice-president; pp 606-612]

[Text] Science and Technology in Capitalism and in Socialism

Contrary to bourgeois views which blame scientific-technical progress for the present threat to the existence of mankind, proof is provided that it depends on the social conditions whether science and technology are misused or serve a humane shaping of life. Under socialism science is generally developed for the welfare of people, the possibilities of the scientific-technical revolution for the development of the productive forces, for the progress of all of society are opened up.

[Summary of article by Herbert Krolikowski, PhD, member of the SED Central Committee, state secretary and first deputy minister for foreign affairs; pp 613-619. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Yalta--Potsdam--Helsinki

On the tenth anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act the significance of the CSCE process is accorded appreciation in connection with the Yalta and Potsdam conferences of 40 years earlier as a balance sheet and at the same time as a prospect of a historical development in Europe which consists in the struggle for achievement of peaceful co-existence. The GDR contribution to the achievement of the intention expressed in Helsinki for the creation of a worldwide coalition of reason and realism in the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community is described.

[Summary of article by Helmut Semmelmann, academically trained agriculturalist, SED Central Committee department manager; pp 620-623]

[Text] Two and a Half Decades That Offset Centuries

Twenty-five years ago the socialist production conditions also in the countryside were victorious through the complete merger of the working individual peasants into cooperative production. That was a high point of the true peasant liberation instituted with the democratic land reform. From that time on the cooperatives developed continuously, today shape the picture of our agriculture. What tasks have the cooperatives posed for themselves in preparation of the 11th SED Congress, what measures are to be taken prior to the '85 harvest?

[Summary of article by Prof Rainer Schmidt, doctor of engineering, director for research, installation and product development in the "Ernst Thaelmann Heavy Machine Building Combine VEB, Magdeburg; pp 624-627]

[Text] Unity of Technology and Product Development

"The principle remains valid to significantly raise effectiveness and production by new products and modern technologies." How is this demand of the Central Committee implemented in the combines? What demands are now being made as regards technical level and economic efficiency by users of products and installations in the GDR and in foreign countries? Wherein lie the advantages of the unity of technological and product development for the producers? Questions which are answered from the experiences of the "Ernst Thaelmann" Heavy Machine Building Combine VEB, Magdeburg.

[Summary of article by Ulrich Hinkel, candidate for lectureship at the Institute for Political Economy of Socialism of the Academy of Social Sciences at the SED Central Committee, and Prof Dr Gudrun Langendorf, economist, deputy director of the Institute for Political Economy of Socialism of the Academy of Social Sciences at the SED Central Committee; pp 628-633]

[Text] Concerning Modernization of Existing Basic Assets

Long-term comprehensive intensification makes it imperative to better utilize and modernize the existing basic assets. What new features distinguish present modernization solutions from past practice? How is it possible to achieve maximum effect by simple reproduction? What consequences arise from moral wear and tear? What requirements does modernization pose for producer and user?

[Summary of article by Rudi Raupach, academically trained social scientist, deputy department director of the SED Central Committee; pp 634-639]

[Text] On the Meaning of Folk Art

In four decades, the artistic leisure time activity has developed into a manifold mass movement which is of great value as a component of socialist national culture for the personality development of the folk artists and for the cultural shaping of our everyday life. What are the state managements and social supporters of folk art to do to increase its ideological-artistic effectiveness in all genres and forms according to growing requirements?

[Summary of article by Prof Ernst Diehl, PhD, member of the SED Central Committee, deputy director of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism at the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR Council for Historical Science, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 640-646]

[Text] In the Struggle Against Fascism and War

The strategy and tactics creatively further developed at the Seventh Comintern World Congress--directed towards bringing together all peace-loving forces into a worldwide front against fascism and war--enabled the communists to fulfill their historical task as vanguard of the struggle against the principal enemy of mankind at that time. The basic tenor of the congress to fight against war before it has started is also of burning topicality.

[Summary of article by Nikolay Iribadzhakov; pp 647-651]

[Text] Irrationalism as Ideological Weapon of Imperialist Reaction

What is the cause of the irrationalism spreading in developed capitalist countries; what function does it fulfill in the class struggle of our time? An analysis of its "arguments" advanced against science, progress and civilization based on a reversal of cause and effect.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BOOKS ON ORIGIN, EFFECT OF CONSTITUTION REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 7, Jul 85 (signed to press 12 Jun 85)
pp 662-663

[Review by Prof Dr Hans Dietrich Moschuetz, professor at the GDR Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence, of books "Verfassung des Volkes--im Volke lebendig" [The People's Constitution--Alive Among the People], by Wolfgang Weichelt, GDR Staatsverlag, Berlin, 1984; and "Unsere Verfassung--Geschichte und Gegenwart" [Our Constitution--Past and Present] by Karl-Heinz Schoeneburg, Wolfgang Weichelt and Siegfried Petzold, GDR Staatsverlag, Berlin, 1985]

[Text] In the past few years the scientific discussion concerning constitutional questions in connection with the shaping of the developed socialist society has grown in volume and intensity. This is above all an expression of the purposeful theoretical work of our Marxist-Leninist party on questions of strengthening the socialist state power and the socialist legal order as well as of the implementation of the GDR constitution.

Two interesting treatises are available on this complex of problems. Both are linked not only by the subject--the GDR constitution and its role in the further shaping of the developed socialist society in our country. Together they pursue one goal: to make the theoretical as well as the practical ideas of the constitution accessible to a broad circle of readers and to foster a civic attitude.

The book by Wolfgang Weichelt "Verfassung des Volkes--im Volke lebendig" (Constitution of the People--Alive Among the People) is the first comprehensive popular scientific work on the GDR socialist constitution. It considers the constitution as a basis of the legal-propagandistic and legal-educational action of the entire political system of the socialist society. The author deals with the constitution in six chapters: "Life With or Without Constitution?", "Has our Constitution Developed as our Own or Does it Have a Foreign Origin?", "Implementation of the Constitution--Personal Judgment?", "Constitution and Social Progress", "Socialist Democracy--Vital Principle of the Constitution", "In a Good Constitution Approaching Ever New Tasks." These fundamental questions of Marxist-Leninist constitutional theory and constitutional practice are treated with scientific exactness, in lively prose, enriched by numerous pictures and diagrams, so that the reader has the opportunity to understand them as questions of his own life decision, his own way of life: By means of historically important facts from the life of our socialist society, convincing

proof is provided that what is involved in socialism is not only "that the constitution determines the basic rules of social existence free from exploitation and therefore human, but also that at closer examination it constitutes its active and conscious implementation of the meaningful life of socialist personalities. For that is the binding guiding principle." (p 10)

The author answers questions such as: What attitude does the constitution demand? What is constitutional and what is unconstitutional? What rights and what duties does the constitution assign to the citizens and the state organ? How is their implementation guaranteed? Who controls adherence to the constitution? How does it serve social progress?

The book "Verfassung der DDR--Geschichte und Gegenwart" (GDR Constitution--Past and Present) enriches political science and jurisprudence with new interesting findings on the dialectic of law and policy of the working class in the first stage of our social development, on sovereignty of the people in the 1949 GDR constitution, on the development of our socialist constitution in the shaping of the developed socialist society, on the new quality of the state-citizen relationship and its constitutional reflection as well as on the development of the socialist local government policy as a characteristic of socialist constitutional reality.

Karl-Heinz Schoeneburg deals with nature and effect of the GDR constitution of 7 October 1949, a topic that possesses special importance for the understanding of the GDR state and legal development. By means of rich historical facts, the dialectic of law and policy of the working class exercising power is examined in the preparation and elaboration as well as in the process of implementation of the first constitution of our country. Proof is being furnished "that uniform revolutionary action of the working class exercising power is unthinkable without law and especially without constitutional law. Democratic centralism and leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party unconditionally demand that state policy receive a constitutionally binding standard and a uniform yardstick." (p 8)

A further aspect is the examination of the progressive constitutional heritage which was adopted by the working class and which reflects the breadth of the political alliance even at that time. Very interesting is his evidence how the popular sovereignty in the 1949 constitution became the fundamental constitutional principle. The principle of popular sovereignty "was understood by the constitutional committee not as a timeless, class-indifferent principle but it had a concrete social and political content reflecting the interests and needs of the people in a specific sector of the struggle." (p 13) Further statements of this contribution relate to the lawful connection of popular sovereignty and peace as well as to the function of the 1949 constitution and its creative implementation and further development in the process of creating the foundations of socialism.

The second contribution is devoted to the GDR constitution in the stage of the shaping of the developed socialist society, its principles and characteristics. Wolfgang Weichelt examines the development of the GDR socialist constitution starting from the finding that all socialist constitutions constitutionally

set down in writing the achievements of the socialist revolution and are an instrument for further shaping of society. In this connection, he directs the attention especially at amending the GDR constitution and defining it more precisely in 1974. "With it the constitutional consequences from the changes were drawn which had occurred with the beginning of the 70's in the international situation and in the internal development of the GDR and had been generally analyzed at the Eighth SED Congress." (p 20) The state-citizen relationship in the GDR was more closely examined and the following was noted: "The political power of the working class creates a new mutual relationship of responsibility of the state for the citizen and of the citizen for the state, society for the individual and the individual for society, at the same time a qualitatively new unity of constitutional rights and duties on the one hand and a civic attitude of the individual on the other hand. The further development of this unity is an objective requirement of the shaping of the developed socialist society." (pp 24/25)

Thoughts on the development of socialist democracy in cities and municipalities as well as on the development of socialist local policies as an important characteristic of socialist constitutional reality are presented by Siegfried Petzold. Nature, content and methods of socialist local policy are vividly substantiated. In this connection, proof is provided how the constitution in this field, too, is a binding guiding principle for new solutions. In assessment and scientific generalization of progressive experiences of the local representative bodies and their organs, the author provides substantiation based on extensive facts and figures: "The local state organs carry a constantly growing responsibility for the mobilization of all territorial potentials for the development of performance and effectiveness in the centrally and locally managed combines and enterprises for the realization of structure-determining economic tasks and other projects of society as a whole. In close connection with the advancing economic development, the further shaping of the socialist character of our cities and municipalities as social communities has become a priority task of state policy." (p 35)

Both books are valuable equally for theory and practice of state management and for civic education. They help fulfill even more effectively the demanding tasks which are to be solved in preparation of the 11th SED Congress by means of the work with the constitution.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

IDEOLOGY'S ROLE IN STIMULATING ECONOMIC GROWTH NOTED

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pp 598-604

[Article by Prof Dr Erich Hahn, SED Central Committee member, director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy at the Academy for Social Sciences: "Socialist Ideology--Driving Force of Conscious Action"]

[Text] In the totality of the driving forces of socialism, ideology occupies an important position. To be able to base oneself on the conscious voluntary initiative of the masses, Comrade Erich Honecker stressed at the Ninth Central Committee Plenum, is one of the greatest advantages of socialism. Our party has devoted maximum attention to the development and utilization of this driving force in particular.

The significant role of ideology as driving force of socialism arises from the character of the historical progress based on the political power of the working class and its allies as well as on the ownership by society of the means of production. Jointly prepared goals and plans, insight into the laws, conditions and connections of collective and personal action, clarity on the interests of society and one's own prove to be decisive factors of social higher development, where private ownership in means of production and thus competition, hunt for profit are eliminated as incentives for action for one group and fear for the job among the other. Elaboration of a policy that is absolutely oriented on the interests of the people and the reflection of the individual on its results, such as the relative importance, the importance of one's own activity in the achievement of the common goals and prospects, emphasizes two sides of a manifold spectrum of intellectual activity whose class and historical tendency is shaped by socialist ideology.

Economy and Ideology

The reflection on the driving forces of our society, on developing and utilizing them even more purposefully and more effectively is challenged above all for two reasons during these months of the preparation: They are, for one thing, experience and reality of significant economic achievements which quite frequently are greater than what had been considered possible and what had been expected. There are on the other hand the by no means less weighty demanding tasks, problems and requirements which must be mastered now and in the future. Both

were comprehensively analyzed at the ninth and tenth Central Committee plenums as well as in the conference of the Central Committee secretariat with the first secretaries of the kreis managements.

Decisive are above all valuable economic experiences: National income has risen continuously and rapidly. It was possible to increase labor productivity in 40 combines of the centrally-managed industry more quickly than net production. Production growth has taken place simultaneously with declining energy and material consumption. These are economic results which deserve great attention on account of their dimension alone and even more so on account of their qualitative importance. It was possible "to initiate a change of importance in principle. Continuing to follow the road of comprehensive intensification and that for the long term, that constitutes the content of the new stage of implementing our economic strategy."¹ These results were undoubtedly caused by the certain experience gained by the citizens of our republic that efforts pay, that there is a perceptible connection in socialism between the satisfaction of the material as well as the intellectual-cultural needs of each individual and his performance and the growth of the economy as a whole, respectively. A cause of these results was also that the combine and enterprise managements were oriented with greater consistency and commitment on the key economic problems of intensification and corresponding index figures of performance evaluation were introduced. At the same time it is essential that profound changes in the manners of thinking and behavior are also put on the agenda. They were and they are embedded in a process of intellectual and practical attitude towards a new situation comprising the entire economy and society. The combination of the most varied factors as driving forces of higher performances as well as of the transition to new, other performance criteria in this connection becomes just as clear as the specific function, the specific point of departure of the ideology in the total system of socialist driving forces.

What was especially involved in this connection? First of all: The adjustment of the economy to the comprehensive intensification required mental clarification, understanding of the necessity of socialist intensification and dimensions and standards of action resulting therefrom. This included consistent dispute with views to derive the task of intensification merely from the changed external conditions (shortage of resources, price increases of raw materials and energy on the capitalist world market) or even to regard it as an expression of a "poor people economy." The crucial point therefore was the clarification that in view of the enormously grown economic potential, of the necessity for rising labor productivity and the fact that scientific-technical progress develops into the decisive source of growth, the transition to the intensively expanded reproduction is a lawful requirement based on a principle of economic development, a requirement of economic reason. The change of the external conditions intensifies this requirement, but it is not its primary and not at all its sole cause.

Secondly: Our party left no doubt on the far-reaching character of the conclusions thus placed on the agenda. The strict orientation on effectiveness and growth entails not only higher but also other requirements. Above all new, better solutions are needed. The early 80's confirmed and emphatically substantiated the assessment made in early 1978 that the "complete transition of our economy to the intensively expanded reproduction... (is) by no means simpler than the creation of the socialist planned economy."²

At the Third Central Committee Plenum at the end of 1981 it was explained that what was involved was the implementation of the economic and sociopolitical directive of the Tenth Party Congress with even fewer raw materials and materials than could be assumed half a year earlier. The soberness of the presentation and the concreteness of the orientation provided by our party proved to be a decisive ideological precondition for meeting the new situation offensively everywhere, for balancing burdens by performances, for reacting to the unfavorable changes with the struggle for higher performances, for higher labor productivity.

Thirdly: Readiness for creative and consciously disciplined action is derived not alone from knowledge, understanding, insight into economic connections. The mobilizing effect of the socialist ideology is the greater the more its cognitive and orienting functions are likewise achieved. That is the case if clarity concerning the situation is combined with a point of view concerning the situation, if events or processes of reality are not only recognized but also analyzed and if conclusions for appropriate modes of behavior are drawn. The socialist ideology has an action-motivating effect particularly because it provides reasons for policy, political goals and decisions. Thus the socialist ideology fulfills its function as a driving force by intellectually revealing the interactions between economics and politics. To prove the political character and content of economic connections and processes means to make them clear as social relations between classes and their interests, to explain the ability to influence and change them by human action. Knowledge about the political significance of economic tasks is a decisive component for giving meaning to human action.

Direction of the Effect of the Socialist Ideology

This function of the socialist ideology is now of special importance. With the transition of the economy to comprehensive socialist intensification, with every new step in combining the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution, the decisive sources of growth for the overall social progress of socialism are developed. At a time of significant sharpening of the international class struggle, of dangerous worsening of international conflicts caused by the striving for world domination and the confrontation course of the most aggressive forces, especially of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie, the economy proves to be the main field of our struggle for the well-being of the people the more so because the decisions are primarily made here for overall social progress and thus at the same time for the further strengthening of socialism as the principal bastion of the struggle for peace. As a consequence of the stubborn ideological struggle of the Marxist-Leninist party with the false views on the causes of the danger of war disseminated by the class enemy--especially the lie of the [Soviet] threat--but also in a dispute with the neutralist, resigned or fatalist mood peddled by bourgeois mass media in capitalist countries, the knowledge concerning the connection of peace and socialism, the resolve has increasingly developed to strengthen socialism for the purpose of safeguarding peace.

In this process the experience was confirmed at the same time that personal motivation to strengthen socialism economically, to make peace more secure, thus to become politically active, is derived by no means only from an abstract presentation of the unity of socialism and peace. The political conversation on

these questions and connections are now virtually challenged by strong trends in mood and attitude, in the social psyche. Reflection had noticeably increased everywhere on the manner in which the chances for the maintenance of peace can be increased and on the way in which the action, the personal and collective activity can be so multiplied that an effect on policy and world events serving peace and social progress emanates from them and the scope of imperialist policy of world domination can be curtailed. Reality itself has placed the topic on the agenda, has prepared the ground for questions concerning the prospects and causes of historical courses of events, concerning the purpose of personal action, concerning the revolutionary dimension of everyday action. Acquisition of the socialist ideology, development of the ability to obtain an independent answer to these questions with its help is indispensable for a constructive, historically optimistic position.

This direction of effect of the socialist ideology as a driving force is at the same time of decisive long-range importance. "The entire development of our republic teaches that in periods of great political importance the working people have always especially promoted the solution of the social tasks with their initiatives."³ Thus a fundamental characteristic is pointed out that distinguishes socialist awareness from all preceding historical types of social awareness. It directs the understanding and the outlook, attitude and orientation, the responsibility of the individual to the real connections existing between the direct personal circumstances and interests on the one hand and the development of the class, society as a whole, the economy, the state on the other hand. And thus the intellectual and practical horizon of the individual is expanded. The fact that socialist awareness acts in this manner is based on the objective agreement of fundamental social, collective and personal interests. Such a trend in the development of socialist awareness is necessarily required as an "ideological form" in which people become aware of the dynamic of mutual dependence, of the emotional contradictions of this relationship of interests and "fight them out."⁴

Achievement of this trend is a process radical as well as long-term and topical. It proceeds by way of numerous intermediate stages and intervening elements. Let us use the example of the development of the socialist ownership consciousness. Karl Marx called the "recognition of the products as one's own" by the actual producers as "enormous consciousness."⁵ The practical experiences of the socialist revolution teach that this important side of socialist consciousness includes at least three elements:

--Consciousness of being the owner of the means of production;

--Knowledge concerning the concrete economic and social interactions and dependencies among the collective, the enterprise, the combine and the economy as a whole;

--Conscious willingness to orient personal and collective activity on economic requirements and interests, the determination to give one's best for the common tasks and to bear responsibility.

These are demands and attitudes whose development is inconceivable without partisan confrontation with laziness, indifference and narrowmindedness and

whose shaping in the everyday work process is influenced by many factors. A clear formulation of tasks, exact work organization, a continuous production rhythm, consistent application of the performance principle, the morale in the collective act in this direction and on their part decisively promote the influence of those views and attitudes. The role of ideology, the ideological work of the party in the interplay of these conditions consists in creating its intellectual foundation. It is the key to understanding and analyzing the objective connections whose mastery is to be achieved from the point of view and from the interests of the working class, of the working people. Ideology helps in stressing those phenomena and from among the multitude of phenomena and relations surrounding man those that are of special importance for action, it provides the qualification to obtain a socialist class standpoint.

The ideological imparting of the dialectical unity of economy and policy thus is expanded to the unity of economy, policy and morality. Development of the political component of everyday economic processes underscores their importance for human coexistence, it reveals consequences for action and behavior of each individual.

Scientific-technical Revolution--an Intellectual Challenge

Not only consequences and complexity of the tasks facing us underscore the role of the socialist ideology as a driving force. It is no less its specific character which also compels the application of the socialist ideology, the mobilization of its inherent potentials, how it holds favorable conditions and points of departure in readiness for their effectiveness.

A fundamental task in the achievement of the economic strategy of the Tenth Party Congress is the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the rapid economic utilization of its results because high productivity and effectiveness can only be achieved in this manner. The documents of our party point the way for that. To break new scientific ground, to explore the thus far unknown and to make it economically useful in the shortest time possible to find solutions rich in ideas through new technologies, to choose between variants of realization of the goals in the combines and enterprises connected therewith, to decide on the most effective goal--all this, to mention only a few things, all this requires attitudes and positions such as nimbleness of mind, willingness to innovate, receptiveness to rethinking, independence and ability to make decisions.

"Comprehensive socialist intensification in the long run demands creative restlessness, willingness to accept risks, goal-oriented thinking, committed action."⁶ To shape such attitudes the socialist ideology, which provides insight into the social-historical prerequisites and reveals consequences of scientific-technical changes, forms an indispensable ideological-moral basis. And one more thing: The greater the scope of human decisions and modes of behavior, the more comprehensive are their dimensions and their consequences, the more urgent is their orientation on the comprehensive, common interests and goals of the economy as a whole, of our state, of the socialist community of states, which are also being imparted by means of and through the socialist ideology.

But the increase in the possibilities of decisionmaking, which is caused by scientific-technical progress, also increases the need for criteria for decisions. The complexity of the requirements that are to be observed in decisions, the complexity of the situations into which they are objectively placed, is heightened. Thus the role of socialist ideology in carrying out economic and technical processes under socialist aspects is also strengthened. Therefore it corresponds to the growing demands on the dialectical unity of socialist ways of production and living in the shaping of developed socialism when our party and our socialist state are strictly guided by the principle of combining with one another progress in rationalization and measures for the improvement of working conditions. The use of microelectronics to increase the effectiveness and at the same time to redesign working processes is an important contribution to the shaping of work contents oriented on the criteria of socialist humanity. This, in turn, opens up new opportunities to the international effect of real socialism. The interest of the working people of the capitalist countries in the socialist synthesis of effectiveness and humanity, of ensuring full employment with rationalization, in the socialist answer to the prospects of human labor, human performance and economic growth has visibly grown under the influence of the worsening conflicts between scientific-technical and social or intellectual-cultural progress on the basis of imperialist conditions of production and power.

The socialist manner of mastering scientific-technical progress, socialist intensification and rationalization assume deep understanding among its protagonists for the social and ideological connections of decisions, for their role in the life of the individual and for their importance in the international class struggle.

The organic connection of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism increasingly confronts human action with intellectual challenges, demands consciousness and clarity as the goal, underscores the indispensability of the socialist ideology as driving force of socialist practice. This all the more so since this process under socialism is carried out by producers who--owing to the socialist educational system and the total intellectual-cultural atmosphere of this society--make high demands on the work and exertion of their creative potentials and regarding the possibility to achieve self-imposed goals, common projects of historical scope.

The socialist ideology fulfills this function by providing the ideological orientation for the action shaped by these objective and subjective features. It places everyday action intellectually in relationship to the laws of history, to the historical mission of the working class and thus provides it with historical meaning. At the same time it serves definition and enrichment of historical goals by proving its worth as an instrument of constant social generalization of the manifold experiences that individuals and collectives gain in the practical mastery of everyday requirements and tasks.

Comprehensive Role in the System of Driving Forces

All this shows that the socialist ideology must not be regarded simply as one of many other driving forces. It plays a comprehensive, a determining role in the system of the driving forces of socialism as a whole. The SED

program correctly starts from the assumption that the driving forces of socialism need conscious development, that its historical advantages do not act automatically but they act precisely as driving forces because they are ideologically disclosed and acquired. The successfully achieved course of the principal task in its unity of economic and social policy, which has led to marked changes in the social existence of the GDR working people, in their material and intellectual-cultural living conditions, offer good possibilities for effectiveness.

Numerous experiences and studies say, for example, that social security, constant improvement of the standard of living and socialist collective relations lead to incentives for action if they combine ideological understanding of their historical quality with the idea that the activity of each individual is indispensable for their reproduction. Herein the qualitatively profound turning point becomes evident that socialism constitutes for the historical development of the driving forces of human labor and performance. The fundamental importance of general social features of human existence, such as social security and security in the collective consists in creating favorable conditions for the individual posing high demands on himself, for promoting reflection on meaning and purpose of work and performance.

It should always be taken into consideration that the development of the driving forces of socialism can only be the result of a manifold collection of factors, to affect the development of the socialist personality as a whole--from the system of socialist education to an atmosphere in everyday plant life which is characterized by high demands and the knowledge concerning their importance for society, the collective and the individual. Similar observations apply to interests as driving force which must be ideologically imparted all the more intensively the more directly they point to overall social, economic, political objects. Also the performance principle and the performance comparison are imbedded in manifold ideological processes; their practical achievement is necessarily tied to a debate with egalitarian ways of thinking, to moral values such as honesty, conscientiousness and responsibility.

Of course, it would be wrong to divorce the effect of the socialist ideology from the other driving forces of socialism, to confront them or to regard them as a substitute for the utilization of the other driving forces. There is a mutual dependence between the effect of the ideology and the effect of other driving forces. Experiences indicate that, e.g., socialist performance behavior is influenced by the complex effect of different driving forces. In each case concrete analysis of the concrete situation is required, exactly taking into account of the specifics of each task, such as the conditions for its solution, to be able to bring about the correct combination of the needed driving forces. Development of the driving forces of socialism constitutes a high demand on the creative character of ideological work and capacity.

FOOTNOTES

1. "From the Report of the Politburo to the Ninth SED Central Committee Plenum, Rapporteur: Comrade Erich Honecker," Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1984, p 31.
2. Erich Honecker, "The Tasks of the Party in the Further Implementation of the Resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress," Speeches and Articles, Vol 6, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1980, p 24.
3. "From the Report of the Politburo to the Ninth SED Central Committee Plenum, Rapporteur: Comrade Erich Honecker," p 44.
4. Cf. Karl Marx, "On the Criticism of the Political Economy," Works, Vol 13, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1961, p 9.
5. Karl Marx, "Outlines of the Criticism of the Political Economy," Works, Vol 42, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1983, p 375.
6. Erich Honecker, "With the 'Ernst-Thaelmann Mobilization of the FDJ' Forward to the 11th SED Congress," Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1985, p 23.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE, COOPERATION STRESSED

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pp 613-619

[Article by Dr Herbert Krolikowski, SED Central Committee member, first deputy minister of foreign affairs: "Yalta--Potsdam--Helsinki"]

[Text] The 40th anniversary of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences takes place in 1985 and on 1 August of this year, the 10th anniversary of the CSCE Final Act. These conferences and their results embody historical events of special significance for the development in Europe and all international events after 1945. They continue to be of greatest importance for the safeguarding of peace. While the Yalta and Potsdam conferences created the framework under international law for a peaceful development after the end of World War II and made decisions which were to ensure the eradication of Hitler fascism with all its roots, the Helsinki Final Act concluded the postwar period with the multi-lateral recognition under international law of the political and territorial realities that had developed after World War II and of the postwar development.

The Yalta, Potsdam and Helsinki decisions have proved to be stabilizing factors of the security in Europe with significant effects beyond that area for the entire world. In the center of the discussions at the Yalta conference, which was code-named "Operation Argonaut," and took place from 4 to 11 February 1945, were problems of the postwar world order and especially the question what was to become of Germany and Europe after the war, after the destruction of fascism. The conference participants confirmed the principle of unity in peace as well as in war and, in spite of different points of view and existing differences, jointly approved solutions for all questions on the agenda were found by the USSR, the United States and Great Britain. In Yalta, reason, realism and good will prevailed.

The basic idea of the founding of the United Nations discussed in Yalta was the agreement on effective measures to prevent any new aggression and to achieve the highest endeavor of mankind by close and constant cooperation of all peace-loving peoples--a secure and lasting peace. Thus the importance of Yalta lies especially in the fact that states of different social order declared the safeguarding of peace as the common goal. Cooperation and understanding, i.e. peaceful coexistence was established under international law as sole possible road to achieve this goal. From the published records it is evident that the

proposals of the Soviet delegation were decisive to a significant extent for the decisions adopted in Yalta. Taking into account the bitter historical experiences, the Soviet Union demanded that after two wars that had started from German soil firm and reliable foundations be created so that no new center of aggression can ever again arise in the heart of Europe, so that peace, security and democracy are permanently guaranteed. Unanimously the government chiefs of the states participating in the Yalta conference then also stated that it is their unshakable will "to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to see to it that Germany will never again be able to disturb world peace."¹ The unity of goals and action achieved at the conference contributed to accelerating the destruction of the common enemy.

At the Potsdam conference (code-named "Terminal"), which took place from 17 July to 2 August 1945, what was involved was to confirm principles for a Europe of peace, democracy and mutually advantageous cooperation and to formulate them according to international law on the basis of the agreements made in Yalta and taking into consideration the new conditions after the destruction of fascist aggression, after the end of the war in Europe. The faithfulness to the Yalta and Potsdam decisions, the stubborn struggle for their fulfillment in spirit and letter have always determined USSR policy aimed at peace and security.

Notwithstanding the differences that became increasingly strongly noticeable among the participants from conference to conference, particularly in Potsdam fundamental decisions for the postwar organization of Europe were adopted which are of current importance. The results achieved in Yalta and Potsdam were the joint work of the main forces of the anti-Hitler coalition. In contradiction to these results are concepts concerning the "overcoming of Yalta" as they are developed by certain imperialist forces--e.g., the sufficiently known Zbigniew Brzezinski is to be mentioned here. Meanwhile it should, however, be evident to these forces, too, that all attempts to jeopardize the results of Yalta and Potsdam or even wanting to revise them are extremely peace-endangering.

Despite the difficulties which already came from the Western allies at the Potsdam conference and despite the different approach of the participants to the questions up for discussion, the Potsdam conference could be successfully concluded owing to the Soviet conduct of the negotiations and decisions of great moment for the creation of a lasting peaceful postwar order in Europe could be made. After the findings from the causes and the course of the war unleashed by German fascism, what was involved in Potsdam was to ensure democratic reshaping in Germany; to eradicate German militarism and fascism by its roots and to deprive the monopolies that bore the principal guilt for the unleashing of two world wars of their power forever.

The Yalta and Potsdam conferences opened up the possibility of creating and further developing relations of peaceful coexistence, realism and reason as an alternative to distrust, conflicts and tensions. With the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations between states of different social order were established under international law and could henceforth serve the safeguarding of peace. While the Soviet Union and the peoples liberated by it set about to implement the decisions of

Yalta and Potsdam and the peoples of Eastern Europe created a new democratic order in their countries, it became apparent in the effort of the Western allies that they were doing everything to undo again progressive developments in the parts occupied by them and to draw away from the principles adopted at Yalta and Potsdam. The disastrous power of the monopolies that backed German fascism was not broken but was restored. Moreover, everything possible was done to harm the progressive developments in the East European states. By means of a "cold war" the emergence of the socialist social order that was developing as a powerful factor for peace was to be stopped. Owing to the policy directed towards peace and good neighborly cooperation, owing to the rapid increase in strength of the progressive, the socialist order in the young people's democracies and the visible political, economic and military strength of the Soviet Union, all attempts to "roll back" the development of socialism failed.

The NATO bloc that developed as a product and instrument of the "cold war" in 1949, which also included the forces of German imperialism--revived in the FRG--with their economic and military potentials, had the consequence that the socialist states had to create their defense alliance, the Warsaw Pact, as a necessary answer. This military alliance was renewed in the Polish capital only a few weeks ago. For 30 years it has stood the test as a peace factor and protective shield for the building of socialism--owing to the unremitting political action of the Soviet Union and the other states allied in the Warsaw Pact, imbued by the spirit of Yalta and Potsdam, owing to their power and strength, especially the approximate military-strategic balance achieved by them.

From the Yalta and Potsdam conferences there extends a line of socialist peace policy to the CSCE. And what applies to those conferences of the past, also applies to the struggle-filled path to Helsinki: The Soviet Union, as the main bastion of socialism which has made the decisive contribution to the victory over Hitler fascism and to the liberation of the peoples subjugated by it, also continued to prove itself as the main force of the striving of the peoples for cooperation, international detente and disarmament. In this very spirit, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev again stated in his message of greeting to the participants in the Torgau meeting: "Not enmity and discord but understanding and cooperation of the countries and peoples must serve as orientation for mankind. The Soviet people are convinced that constructive cooperation among the former allies and among all states in the struggle for maintenance of peace can and must become a powerful factor for the improvement of the international atmosphere."²

GDR Adheres to its Intention Stated in Helsinki

In his speech at the Helsinki summit meeting in 1975, Comrade Erich Honecker stated: "It is with deep symbolism that the first conference of the European states and of the United States and Canada takes place in the 30th year of the liberation of the peoples of Europe from Hitler fascism by the Soviet Union and the other states of the anti-Hitler coalition. With its results the conference contributes to the fulfillment of the legacy of the millions of sons and daughters of so many peoples who heroically fought against the barbarism of fascism. They laid the foundation for a secure and peaceful Europe."³ The

Helsinki conference was the biggest action undertaken by states of different social order for the strengthening of peace and achievement of the principles of peaceful coexistence since the activity of the anti-Hitler coalition. It clearly reflected the profound changes that have taken place in Europe as a result of the growing strength and the increasing influence of socialism, of the labor movement and all forces of peace. It equally contributed to the goal of collective safeguarding of peace already agreed to in Yalta for the implementation of which fundamental decisions had been made at the Potsdam conference.

With the adoption of the Helsinki Final Act, the Warsaw Pact states, the NATO states--including the United States and Canada--and the European neutral and pact-free states jointly agreed to qualitatively new political foundations based on international law for guaranteeing security, detente, cooperation in equality of the peoples and states in Europe. They find expression especially in the recognition binding under international law of the political and territorial realities as they have developed as a result of World War II and the postwar development in Europe. Starting from the principles agreed to in Yalta and Potsdam for a peaceful postwar development, the recognition under international law of the borders and territories of the states in Europe accomplished by the treaties of Moscow, Warsaw, Berlin and Prague was now multilaterally confirmed in the Final Act by all European states and the United States and Canada--i.e. also by the principal powers of the anti-Hitler coalition. Taking into account the specific historical and current facts in Europe, a body of fundamental principles under international law to guarantee the security and the development of cooperation among the states of different systems was formulated at the same time with the CSCE Final Act.

The agreed-upon ten principles, which form the central element of the Final Act constitute a foundation binding under international law for the development of the relations among the signatory states for collective security in Europe. Spirit and content of these principles correspond to the concerns and goals of the fundamental agreements of the anti-Hitler coalition. This applies especially to the inviolability of the borders, of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states, to noninterference in internal affairs as well as to the jointly undertaken obligation "to make detente in the universal sense into a lasting as well as into an increasingly more viable and comprehensive process."⁴

With the agreement on the body of principles the path, which originated in the Yalta and Potsdam decisions, was undoubtedly continued and brought to an all-European level. With the European system of treaties and the Helsinki Final Act the questions that are generally part of a peace settlement that had remained unresolved in Yalta and Potsdam were settled. "With the successful conclusion of the CSCE on highest level essential foundations for a stable peaceful order were created in Europe," Comrade Erich Honecker emphatically stressed at the Ninth SED Congress. "This important conference multilaterally sealed the settlement of the postwar problems which had been instituted and advanced with the concluded bilateral treaties."⁵

The Helsinki conference and its results embody two significant sides of a historical development process in Europe: they are a balance sheet and

prospect. Balance sheet because with Helsinki a stage of the European postwar history was concluded. Prospect because with the Final Act the political foundation and a clearly outlined stage for the further strengthening of peace, security and the development of cooperation among states with different social order in Europe were created. The Warsaw Pact states as initiators of the CSCE have never regarded Helsinki as the end but as prelude to new activities in the direction of reshaping international relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence and lasting peace.

As a member of the socialist community of states, the GDR has made an internationally recognized contribution to the accomplishment of the European body of treaties and thus of the CSCE by means of concrete proposals and a maximum of readiness to negotiate. Faithful to "its peace policy...starting from the day of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act" the GDR has just as consistently "conscientiously implemented this document."⁶ Starting from the lessons of history, which state that safeguarding of peace is the most elementary condition for the development of any kind of cooperation among the states, the GDR in this connection has paid special attention to the implementation of the principles of security laid down in the Final Act. It was and it remains a goal of its extensive activities in relation to the capitalist states to make the principles agreed upon in Helsinki into the generally recognized and practiced basis of the relations between states of different social order and to give full effect to the results of the CSCE in their totality. The efforts made by the GDR in the interest of peace and detente since the Helsinki summit meeting in all areas of the Final Act far exceed everything agreed to in Helsinki. Evident proof for that are the 270 treaties and agreements on political, economic and cultural areas concluded with the majority of the capitalist participating states. They are part of the material structure that is required to implement the policy of peaceful coexistence and to make it into a lasting foundation of the state relations.

As happened already after Yalta and Potsdam, after the Helsinki conference, too, the reactionary forces of the West stepped up their declared resistance to the course of peaceful coexistence, the forces to which the detente policy fits by no means into their plans. With the overarmament and confrontation course, the expansion of the strategic offensive potential, especially the stationing of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe and the plans for the militarization of space, these most aggressive circles of imperialism are undertaking the thus far most massive attempt to change the European and global military-strategic balance of power in their favor. With the striving for superiority over socialism, concepts and practices of political forces, especially in the United States and the FRG, are intimately connected which jeopardize the existing political-territorial realities in Europe. This peace-endangering policy is incompatible with spirit and letter of the Yalta, Potsdam and Helsinki agreements as well as the fundamental treaties binding under international law that were concluded between the socialist states and the FRG in the early 70's. As Oskar Fischer, the GDR minister for foreign affairs, noted, "recognition of the political and territorial realities that developed as a result of World War II and the postwar development in Europe as well as strictly respecting the sovereignty of the states" are "the foundations on which the relations among the European states are based.... Every attempt to change that is an attack on the balance of power that preserves peace."⁷

At the same time no doubt should exist that any attempt "to overcome the socialist social system in Central and Eastern Europe" are completely devoid of realism. The socialist states have given the necessary rebuff to all phenomena of revanchism in the past and will also do so in the future. In the communique of the meeting of the leading representatives of the parties and states of the Warsaw Pact member countries of 26 April 1985 it is stressed in this connection that the Warsaw Pact has "now reliably served for 30 years the development and strengthening of the all-around cooperation of the partner states, guaranteeing their sovereignty and security as well as the inviolability of their borders, the common preparation and implementation of their peaceful foreign policy course and plays an outstanding role in the maintenance and strengthening of peace in Europe and in the world."⁸

For a Worldwide Coalition of Reason and Realism

The 40 years since Yalta and Potsdam and the 10 years since the Helsinki summit conference have repeatedly proved the historical importance and effectiveness of these conferences in daily life. The obvious benefit of an increasingly broader and more manifold peaceful cooperation supported by confidence between the states of different social order existing in Europe became especially evident in the 70's. During his official visit to the Italian Republic, Comrade Erich Honecker declared in this connection: "The things that could be achieved in the years of detente are very much appreciated by the citizens of the GDR as well as the citizens of Italy. It is natural to call this to mind especially shortly before the approaching 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act and to advocate that the fruits of detente not be trampled underfoot but be maintained and multiplied."⁹ The positive effects of detente have taken deep roots that can no longer be destroyed in the consciousness of the people.

The assertion that detente has been a one-way street and has brought advantages only to the socialist states is absolutely devoid of reality and opposed to the interests of the peaceloving mankind. As is well known, peace and security on our continent is a cause from which all peoples and states only profit, especially in our age, the nuclear age. It is in the vital interest of all European countries not to permit the chain of 40 years of peace to break, to safeguard peaceful coexistence in the coexistence of the states with different social order; for it is the only alternative if the military clash is to be banished from the life of the peoples.

The history of the striving for implementation of the decisions of Yalta, Potsdam, the dispute on the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act show that every step in the direction of peace and security in Europe can be achieved only in complex and protracted disputes with the most reactionary forces of imperialism. It is above all thanks to the policy of the Warsaw Pact states imbued by high responsibility that the forces of reaction were unable to destroy the Helsinki Final Act and the CSCE process.

The CSCE conference in Madrid provided proof of the fact that, with corresponding readiness of all participating states, agreements in the direction of peaceful coexistence are possible even though there may be considerable differences of opinion and precarious international conditions. The decision of this meeting

for convoking the Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe with the aim to expand the CSCE process to the questions of military detente is, if successfully fulfilled, of great importance to the safeguarding of peace. Here, too, it was the consistent, principled and at the same time flexible attitude of the socialist states which decisively contributed to the fact that this step could finally be taken. These states, together with all others to which peace is dear, start from the assumption that political detente can only be lasting if it is complemented by military detente. The course of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, especially in the United States, directed towards achievement of military superiority hampered not only serious continuation of the Helsinki process but also led to the most serious danger to peace since World War II. Particularly in view of the present complex international situation, it is important that "at all times everything be done and nothing be omitted to banish the danger that threatens the world by nuclear armament."¹⁰

In the striving for implementation of this most important task of the present time, the Yalta, Potsdam and Helsinki conferences impart important lessons and experiences to us. The anti-Hitler coalition and the Helsinki conference exactly are an example of how states with different social orders should and can effectively cooperate in the overriding interest of safeguarding peace.

The GDR which entered the international community of states in 1949 with the pledge to do everything so that no war would ever again start from German soil especially sees it as its duty under the present conditions of a precarious and complex international situation to contribute jointly with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states to maintaining the military-strategic balance of power indispensable to the survival of mankind at an ever lower level and to combine all peaceloving forces in a worldwide coalition of reason and realism with the aim of averting any danger of war. To struggle against war with all available strength before the weapons speak--that is the principal lesson of history. In this sense the GDR undertakes manifold activities to carry on the political dialogue and to use all opportunities to end the arms race and to return to the path of political and military detente. In this connection it is guided by the fact that its close alliance with the Soviet Union, its irrevocable ties in the socialist community of states, its membership in the Warsaw Pact and in CEMA are the foundation for the fact "that the GDR reliably fulfills its responsibility as a cornerstone of peace and of socialism in Europe."¹¹

GDR action within the UN, at the Stockholm Conference, at the Vienna negotiations, at the Geneva disarmament conference as well as in other international bodies jointly with its alliance partners is directed towards achieving results that defuse the military confrontation and lead to improvement of the international situation.

The GDR emphatically supports the initiatives the CPSU general secretary, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev. Acceptance of the Soviet proposals to end all activities for the creation of space weapons, for freezing strategic nuclear weapons armament, for stopping the stationing of U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe and the countermeasures of the Warsaw Pact states would provide a valuable momentum to the Geneva negotiations, would noticeably improve the

international atmosphere and obviously would have a positive effect on other international negotiations. The USSR's unilateral moratorium on the emplacement of Soviet intermediate-range missiles is visible proof of the earnestness of its honest efforts to find a road that serves the safeguarding of peace. The GDR and its allies have never abandoned the hope and exert all their strength to reverse the present precarious international situation and to make the potential of the Helsinki Final Act serve the cause of peace for a peaceful future of mankind.

As Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized, "the CSCE process" is "excellently suited to play a significant role in the restoration of an atmosphere of international trust, of the strengthening of security and continuation of detente."¹² In this sense the GDR favors consistent continuation of the all-European process of security and cooperation on the basis established by the Helsinki Final Act. The GDR activities for the achievement of the principles and recommendations of the Final Act will continue to be determined by its declared desire to do everything it can do to help safeguard peace in Europe and the world. "The 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act for us as signatory state is an occasion," Comrade Erich Honecker stated at the 12th FDJ Parliament, "to again declare before all the world that the GDR stands by its signature and thus by its declared intention to do everything it can to overcome international tensions, to promote peaceful cooperation and to create an atmosphere of trust."¹³

FOOTNOTES

1. "Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam," Progress Publishing House, Moscow 1978, p 201.
2. Mikhail Gorbachev, "Torgau Encounter--Example for Understanding and Cooperation," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 26 Apr 85, p 1.
3. Erich Honecker, "The Security of the European States Was and Is Above All the Security of Their Borders," Speeches and Articles, Vol 3, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1976, p 460.
4. "CSCE Final Act" in: "For Detente and Lasting Peace in Europe." Documents; Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin 1977, p 130.
5. "Report of the SED Central Committee to the Ninth SED Congress, Rapporteur: Comrade Erich Honecker," Protocol of the Ninth SED Congress, Vol 1, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1976, p 41.
6. Erich Honecker, "GDR Implements Helsinki Final Act in Spirit and Letter," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 15 May 84, p 1.
7. HORIZONT, No. 10, 1984, p 3.
8. EINHEIT, No. 6, 1985, p 484.

9. Erich Honecker, "Development of Relations Serves Stability in Europe," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24 Apr 85, p 3.
10. Erich Honecker, "The GDR Embodies the Ideals of the Antifascist Struggle," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 29 Apr 85, p 3.
11. Erich Honecker, "A World Historical Deed That Also Liberated the German People," EINHEIT No. 4/5, 1985, p 291.
12. Erich Honecker, "GDR Implements Helsinki Final Act in Spirit and Letter," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 15 May 84, p 1.
13. Erich Honecker, "With the 'Ernst-Thaelmann Mobilization of the FDJ' Forward to the 11th SED Congress," Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1985, p 13.

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HUNGARY

NARCOTICS USE, USERS DESCRIBED

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian May 1985 pp 52-68

[Excerpts from a report by Istvan Boros and Peter Vertessy, published in book form: "Narco-Blues"]

[Text]

"The drunken alcoholic goes home and beats up his wife. The drug addict goes home, and his wife beats him up."

Dr J. D. Richard

The downtown section of Budapest quiets down somewhat by 7 or 8 pm. Only one or two cars, and the Nos 2 and 15 buses are making noise in Sandor Petofi Street. Loud jazz can be heard from the second floor of the building at No 5. Boys and girls are loitering before its gate.

We mount the steps slowly, but do not reach the second floor. There is a short queue before the lattice door. The wine bottle is passed around. The loiterers are leaning against the wall indifferently. Some of them are smoking. Others are sitting on the steps and reading. No one seems to be in a hurry.

Everything is the same as it was long ago when we were coming here and believed that we could change the world. Those who are listening to the music now no longer believe that they can.

Ten minutes later, the door opens. The porter-bouncer leans against the brass plate at the entrance, his fingers leaving greasy smudges on the engraved plate that reads "Builders' Technical Club." A big man, he lets those who are leaving pass under his arm. Meanwhile he is counting out loud: "One, two, three, four, five." Then he casually tells the front of the queue: "OK, five may come in."

Five people march in, like obedient goslings.

"What a show, Dad," whinnies Augusztá in the entrance hall. She is romping around, her leather pants glittering in the semidarkness, and her curly hair spread over her muscular shoulders. She hugs and kisses each of the newly admitted girls and boys. She is high, her buck teeth nearly pop from her mouth.

"She probably had a shot of something," says Tomcat objectively. "She could tell you a lot."

Tomcat is sitting on the cloakroom's counter, smoking a cigaret and dropping the ashes on the carpet. His face is glistening. Elvis was in vogue when people wore their mane the way he combs his: wet, straight back, and plastered down. He is looking through dilated pupils, but it is not astonishment that makes his eyes round. He is sporting a rather thin beard, like seaweed. His lower arm is veined; the veins like electric wires under his skin.

"Are you going to Amsterdam?"

"Yes. I have a friend or two there."

So far it has been quiet. But now the intermission is over, and the jazz drowns out the din in the room. The walls are vibrating. Tomcat raises his voice, but remains cautious nonetheless.

"I would know where to stay there." He quickly corrects himself and abandons the conjunctive mode. "The others, too, have more or less found their feet, although they are not citizens as yet. But they immediately received welfare, or something similar."

"Will you swim across the sea at Trieste?"

"No, there is a place there You know, I won't leave it to luck. A fellow who left has written back, and even sent a sketch. On the Yugoslav coast, way up along the Rijeka line, there is a town called Koper. That is where he crossed over. Trieste is only a few kilometers from there."

He lights a cigaret and inhales excitedly. As if he were already there at the crossing point, watching for movement, planning, weighing the odds, seeking the gap through which he can sneak. Like a real tomcat.

"I don't think I will need anyone to help me. At least my pal did not mention it in his letter," he says with self-assurance and smiles.

"Have you heard that Belfegor was caught at the border?"

"I am not afraid of that," he says in a raised his voice. "I do not want to go haphazardly. That is why I said that all the instructions on where I have to cross are written down in detail. If I do not succeed on the first try, I will turn back."

"And if you succeed, will you try hashish?"

"To tell you frankly, I thought of trying out what is very hard to get here at home. But first I would like to travel," he says resolutely. "To look around in general. And to live, and also to study something."

"Music?"

"Of course. I would enroll in one of those open-admission colleges. In other words, where they are not interested in your past, papers, or criminal record."

"Will Erzsi go with you?"

"Like hell," he retorts angrily. "The fact that I had a fight with my wife was the last straw. I know in advance that I will be homesick. But look here, I intend to come back as soon as I can. After all, I grew up here. Even today I will wander alone in this city. I have my favorite spots where I sit down and feel fine. In other words, I love this country. But I do not want to go to jail again. Here I simply find that my prospects are hopeless."

The music crashes and stops, as a radio just switched off. Augusztai is shrieking. The waitress behind the refreshment stand shouts something, but her voice is unable to penetrate the thick smoke. It is hot and getting hotter. Everyone is sweating, foreheads are glistening. In the semidarkness, in a corner where the surplus tables have been stacked, somebody switches on a tape recorder and lets it play:

Here I lie.
Say, Sister Morphine, when
Will you come again?
Oh, I feel I can't wait that long,
You know I am not that strong.
Please, Sister Morphine.
I am sitting in a tree.
Oh, don't you see
That my face is completely pale?
I am lying because you are not here.
Oh, Sister Morphine, dear,
Put your cool, cool hand on my head.
(Rolling Stones, "Sister Morphine")

"I'll be back in a minute." Tomcat gets off the counter and goes into the washroom. When he returns, he seems more composed; like someone who is through the worst and does not care about the world. He pockets the ampule only here.

Tomcat lives in the Lagymányos district, in the usual housing development, in an apartment that could be called small rather than large. In his early adolescence, he sat for days on end in the park, the way all his friends did. He knew everyone in the neighborhood, and the entire housing development knew him.

One afternoon he was loafing with his friends on Baranyai Square. A blue Volkswagen stopped at the corner of the park. A tall, thin, balding man got out. He was one of the district physicians, well known in the housing development. He went straight to the boys.

"Hi. Who would like to earn a twenty?"

"Depends on what has to be done," answered Gabor, one of Tomcat's classmates.

"The car needs a wash," replied the doctor. "I can hardly see through the windshield anymore."

"It's a deal, boss," Gabor said getting off the bench. "Give me the car keys."

From then on Gabor washed the doctor's car twice a week and also performed its minor servicing.

On one occasion Gabor was cleaning out the glove compartment when he found a box containing ampules of morphine. He put the box back, but his imagination was dwelling constantly on the morphine. He could not keep the secret to himself. Evenings in the park, he and his friends long wondered what it must feel like to try morphine.

Gabor was walking with Tomcat along Fehervari Road when they met the doctor.

"Doctor," came out Gabor with the question that had long been intriguing him, "could you give us a couple of ampules of morphine"?

"What? Morphine ampules"? The doctor was flabbergasted. "How could I get you that? It can be prescribed only for patients."

"Why, are you sick, too?" asked Tomcat.

"What does that have to do with it?"

"We noticed the other day that your car was full of morphine," said Gabor threateningly.

The doctor turned pale. "Did you tell anyone?"

"Not yet. The rest, of course, is up to you."

"Well, look here," the doctor said, putting his arm around Gabor's shoulder and walking several meters further with him. "I cannot prescribe morphine for you. You would be nabbed immediately with it."

The doctor took a stamped prescription form from his bag, filled it out and gave it to Gabor. "Here, I prescribed something better for you. It will do to begin with." He shook hands with Gabor and added by way of parting, "Come and see me when this runs out."

Tomcat and his friend were 15 then. The doctor kept his word, always giving them a new prescription when the P. ran out.

"But this was not the first time you tried it?" we try to make ourselves heard above the blaring music.

"I got my first dose earlier, in the Sirius Club." Tomcat is drumming with his fingers on the table. "From a girl. Twelve pills. I took two and gave the rest to the others. These first two pills were the strongest," he adds tensely.

He experienced an excruciating dryness of mouth and thought he would choke. He kept going to the washroom to rinse his mouth. He gradually had terrible

hallucinations. When he flushed the toilet, he discovered all kinds of musical notes in the rushing water. And then he started talking to the walls: "What's up? Why are you grinning?" he asked the tiles. "You don't even know that Miki Orszaczky grew a hoof!"

Tomcat slid slowly to the floor. As he looked up at the lamp's white globe, he saw swirling angels and devils, then snarling vampires dancing around him, and finally huge and grotesque hairy monsters, with large eyeteeth, leering in his face.

He came to an hour later, somewhere in the street. He did not remember how he got there. He was shaking violently.

"I promised myself many times that I would not take any more pills," continues Tomcat. "But whenever I was unable to sleep and was just tossing around, I had to have them."

And he needed more and more. "I took two pills at a time, but my daily average was about six or seven pills. The maximum I took was ten to twelve. That made me feel good."

"What else did you take?"

"Let me see, what were they? To tell the truth, we tried everything of which we at least suspected that it might help. When P. was not available, I took Demalgon, about ten pills. Or even Kalmopyrin. It was all the same."

"We have patients to whom the quality of the drug is practically indifferent, so long it is a 'pill.' Or as one of our patients put it, 'the sight of a syringe arouses a pleasant excitement.' The person for whom any pill is 'good,' or who becomes excited at the sight of an empty syringe, obviously has had some 'drug experience.' The above examples support the contention that psychologically it is not of any particular significance whether one is taking Parkan or heroin. The drug is actually a substitute that seemingly solves all the problems of a young person, and with its help he becomes relaxed or 'high,' without any effort or exertion on his part. The drug is a possibility that 'cheaply' ensures the attainment of passive sensory pleasures." (Dr Odon Kisszekelyi and Mrs Kovacs nee Zsuzsanna Janos, Health Institutes of the Ministry of the Interior, Department of Neuropathy: "About the Etiological Factors of Juvenile Toxicomania," ALKOHOLOGIA, 1977.)

For morphine, you have to show your personal identification card. The pharmacist enters its number on the back of the prescription. That way you can be nabbed easily.

"We forged a prescription. The father of a friend of mine is a doctor, and we used his stamp. That was our first mistake," Tomcat states objectively and flicks the ashes off his T-shirt. "Because the doctor was notified immediately on the basis of the stamp. Our second mistake was that we used our own identification cards. The truth is we were so keen that we did not even think something could go wrong."

At night on 15 January, Tomcat and Foxy stopped before the pulled-down shutters of the pharmacy on Boraros Square and rang the bell. The pharmacist on duty, a blonde, opened the small window. She was rubbing her eyes sleepily.

"Good evening!" Foxy greeted her and presented the prescription. The pharmacist glanced through it but kept looking furtively at Foxy and Tomcat.

"Young man," she said to Foxy, "this prescription is entirely in order. But the two of you have been here with a prescription like this before."

"How can you say that," protested Tomcat with feigned indignation and stepped closer. "We are getting the morphine for his grandfather who is in terrible pain."

"It is all the same to me," replied the woman, "but the prescription was subjected to close scrutiny already the last time. Look, boys," she added kindly, "it is none of my business. But I advise you to go elsewhere. Is it worth the risk?"

Tomcat had misgivings and whispered to Foxy: "Leave the whole damned thing and let's go to Ferenc Boulevard."

But Foxy stepped closer and began to prate: "Dear lady, you do not even know what you are missing. You probably become exasperated. Perhaps your boss gives you a hard time, your colleagues pick on you, and they shout at you in the food store. Yet all you have to do is to reach in the cabinet behind you." Seeing that the woman was becoming entirely uncertain, Foxy continued to convince her: "Believe me, dear lady, you wouldn't give a damn about the world if you gave yourself a fix."

The pharmacist listened to the boy with bewilderment, then went lethargically and with uncertain steps to the counter, took a package of morphine, punched the price on the cash register, and took the change from the drawer. On the back of the prescription she noted the number of Foxy's identification card and then returned him the card with the medicine through the small window.

"How long did it last?"

"About two months."

"How many ampules were there?"

"One shot in the morning, and one in the afternoon. Foxy was more experienced in this. He dared to mainline, using a No 1 needle, which is damned thick. He bled profusely, and there were sores along his vein. At first I dared to shoot only into the underside of my thigh," says Tomcat dispassionately, as if he were talking about a shot of BCG vaccine. "Later we bought finer needles. We each had our own syringe. You can get one in any pharmacy, without a prescription. Then I, too, mainlined."

"Was it different than P.?"

"Of course," he tells me as if he were holding a TIT [Society for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge] lecture. "P. is a pure hallucinogen, whereas morphine is a natural substance. When you are mainlining it--and it is good to mainline because it gets into the blood and acts immediately--you start feeling its effect even before you have administered the entire shot."

On such occasions he began to experience a very strong tingling feeling inside. Colors seemed brighter. His throat felt a bit dry. He drank soft drinks, had no appetite, smoked a lot, and felt warm all over. In this dozing state, he had one hallucination after the other. In his dream he felt successful in everything.

"Time," shouts the cashier, and for added emphasis the waitress in charge of the refreshment stand begins to collect the glasses. Everybody knows what has to be done. Cigaretts are stubbed out. The mixture of smoke and people floats toward the door, and the interrupted sentences are completed at the elevator.

"Kalman, can you put me up?" Augusztas asks.

"Must I?"

"I have no place to sleep tonight."

"OK," replies Kalman and issues orders. "Fera, you two go to the Witz's. And you, Augusztas, may come with me. There is a flophouse with warm flooring and everything. But we have to go out to Pestlorinc."

Everybody starts off. On Felszabadulas Square, Kalman and Augusztas disappear behind the glass door leading to the metro. They are already on rails.

We walk in the night along empty Vaci Street, to Vorosmarty Square. We smoke cigarette and feel that for Tomcat it is all the same who is with him, so long as there is somebody to listen to him.

"We were nabbed," he says, which incidentally was easy to guess.

It happened in late February 1975. Tomcat and Foxy received summonses by mail. They had to go to Mosonyi Street. At 8 am they appeared at the police station, received passes at the entrance, went along a narrow corridor, and up stairs to the third floor. Remembering the pharmacist on Boraros Square, they already suspected what it was all about. After their interrogation, March, April and May went slowly by. In mid-June, when they already thought that the police had forgotten about them, the boys again received summonses, this time to Floris Romer Street. Another interrogation. Three months later, in the beginning of October, their indictment arrived. The prosecutor charged them with "drug abuse and forgery of a public document."

The following are excerpts from the Criminal Code:

Section 282. Drug Abuse

1. Whoever, in violation of official regulations, makes, acquires, possesses, places in circulation, imports, exports or transports through the country

- a drug suitable for pathological use commits a felony punishable by 1 to 5 years imprisonment.
2. Whoever gives a person under 18 a drug suitable for pathological use is punishable pursuant to Paragraph 1.
3. The penalty is 2 to 8 years imprisonment if the felony was committed
 - a. Professionally,
 - b. In a conspiracy, or
 - c. Involving drugs in significant quantity or of substantial value.
4. Whoever prepares to commit drug abuse as defined in Paragraph 1 is guilty of a misdemeanor punishable by up to 2 years imprisonment.
5. Whoever makes, acquires or posses, but not for the purpose of placing in circulation, a small quantity of a drug suitable for pathological use commits a misdemeanor punishable by up to 1 year imprisonment, corrective and educative labor, or a fine.

Section 283. Causing Pathological Addiction

Whoever helps or attempts to persuade a person under 18 to pathologically use a substance or preparation that has a narcotic effect commits a misdemeanor punishable by up to 1 year imprisonment, corrective and educative labor, or a fine.

Preamble to Section 283:

"It has been established that experimentation with drugs among teenagers often begins with the use of materials that are not on the list of controlled drugs but are suitable for pathological use, due to their narcotic effect. One can find many pharmaceuticals among these substitutes, but they include also other materials such as glues, for example.

"Such materials are less injurious to health than drugs are. The reason for making the causing of pathological addiction a misdemeanor is primarily the danger that the teenager who becomes accustomed to such a material may eventually become a drug addict.

"It is the task of the medical expert to determine whether some material has the effect required to constitute a misdemeanor."

"At the end of 1978, the Council of Ministers discussed the situation regarding juvenile delinquency. It established as a new characteristic the growing interest of youths in narcotics, and in pharmaceuticals and chemicals that have a narcotic effect. Nearly 20 young people have already become victims of such addiction." (Imre Pick, "Drugs From a Phonograph Record," BUDAPESTI NEVELO, No 3, 1979.)

A patrol car rolls leisurely along Dorottya Street. Tomcat recoils for a brief moment, but immediately goes calmly on, because he is gainfully employed.

"At that time I stopped taking drugs completely. I still took P. once or twice, but that was nothing. I did not take anything in 1975, or only rarely, but I longed for drugs terribly. The trial went smoothly," he says waving his

hand and making a wry face. "The defense attorneys could only ask for a humane sentence, citing our youth. The big hit was when the court and the medical expert found that the prescriptions had not been filled out properly, and therefore they were unable to understand how the pharmacists could dispense the morphine. But that is nonsense. Those prescriptions were perfect. I got a year and two months, and the sentence was left to stand on appeal. Foxy got two years and two months of hard labor. I entered the Fo Street prison on 20 April, was transferred to the Marko Street prison for three days, and shipped from there to Nagyfa where I served six months. Meanwhile, the variation in my case was that my father promised to get his influential friends to do something so that I would not have to serve my entire sentence. In the end I spent eight months behind bars. It was very rough."

After Nagyfa there came Allampuszta. A concrete hopper, bunkhouse, corn picking, and road construction.

"A person inside completely forgets what it was like to be free," he sighs mournfully. And by now I have forgotten that I was ever inside."

Tomcat's pals knew that he would be released on 23 December. They visited his mother regularly to inquire. And by the time Tomcat arrived, they had collected the initial dose for him.

"Then it began all over again," says Tomcat, and from the tone of his voice you cannot tell whether he is sorry or glad.

All three of us are silent. Perhaps we feel that we have reached the edge of some precipice where dark forces are dominant. Where there is nothing more. Pictures flash through our minds, photographs from Western magazines where it is natural to report such things: boys and girls lying on the tiles of public toilets, hypodermic needles sticking from their veins after the "gold shot." The question is bothering us. We cannot help but ask it.

"Are you not afraid of dying?"

We go on. You can see on Tomcat's face that in his 24 years he has never really thought of dying, although death could be walking at his side even now.

"No," he replies hesitantly. "I mean, P. induces asphyxia. That is the cause of all the fear. If someone knows the drug, he is able to avoid such fears. But I did have persecution mania from C."

"Auguszta said that her dentures are due to C."

"Yes. Her teeth dropped out, because C. causes osteoporosis. I only had constant diarrhea when I started to quit taking C. I had no appetite, and terrible pains in my knees, elbows, shoulders and back. Rheumatic pains, or something similar."

"How long did the withdrawal symptoms last in your case?"

"Listen," he explains calmly. He stops, turns toward us and sits down on the luggage rack of a parked car. "Without a fix today, by 9 or 10 pm I would start having diarrhea; by tomorrow morning I would be feeling my back; and by tomorrow evening I would be so wracked with pain that I would not be able to sit still. I can stand the pain only if I walk about. When I was in the army, for example, I did not feel this, because they drove us so hard that I nearly lost my balls."

We are standing in front of the Gresham. The miawing of the piano and the rumbling of the drums can be heard from within. Barely a table or two are occupied. This nighttime cafe is like an aquarium in which only the most enduring fish remain "alive."

"Let's go in, fellows," Tomcat turn to us. "I am thirsty."

The sleepy waiter brings us two beers. Tomcat has only a soft drink. When we are again alone, Tomcat pulls out a prescription form that is already stamped.

"Did you steal it?"

"Hell, No. I made it."

"The stamp, too?"

"Well, look here," he lets us in on his secret. "I get myself a sample. The dopes in the pharmacy throw the cancelled prescriptions into the waste basket. Then all I need is carbon paper, a sharp pencil with a hard lead, and a bit of manual dexterity."

"Where did you learn this?"

"That is a part of the profession," he grins proudly. "But this is not how we did it at first. The tracing-paper method was more complicated and, unfortunately, traces of the carbon paper were more visible. This is a more professional method. Out of 50 prescriptions, say, pharmacists will refuse to dispense two or three. But even then they will merely say, as a pretext, that it is out of stock."

He starts to write with his left hand, and it is obvious that he is experienced: "H... 0.04 g tabl. II. dos. 3 x 2." And he adds an illegible signature with a flourish.

"Your mother sends her love, Doctor Whoever." At the end Tomcat looks up with satisfaction.

We are not surprised, because we know that Tomcat has perused the entire professional literature.

When Tomcat was released from prison, his family thought that a psychologist would solve everything. The boy went twice a week to the district neurological clinic, and later to the psychologist's office in his home.

"He wanted me to lie on a couch and talk about whatever came to mind. And I also had to draw all sorts of trees. That was his thing. And I always asked him to give or prescribe me something more serious. But he said he couldn't."

Tomcat attempts to switch to a more agreeable subject and begins to talk again about Amsterdam. When we ask him what will happen to his parents if he leaves the country illegally, he laughs cynically, "Whatever will happen will happen. Shit on their careers."

We didn't see Tomcat after that. We looked for him, but in vain. We do not know whether he was able to obtain a passport. After all, he did have a criminal record. For a professional prescription forger it was probably no great problem to forge a renewal stamp in a red passport.

Two months after our last meeting, we received a postcard from him. The card showed red, yellow and green tulip beds, a windmill, a small canal with a typically Dutch wooden bridge; in the foreground, girls and women wearing the traditional Dutch caps, dresses and wooden shoes; and above them a bright blue sky. And his message: "Fellows, I walked across. You are free to write everything. It can no longer cause me any trouble. So long, Tomcat."

The hospitals. The Psychiatric Clinic, the National Neuropsychiatric Institute, the Otto Korvin Hospital of the Ministry of the Interior, the Koranyi, the Ambulance Service Hospital, the Military Hospital on Karoly Robert Boulevard. Who knows to how many places Gabor Sinka has been taken by ambulance? Either he was picked up in the street, or his mother called an ambulance to take him from their apartment. Even he himself does not really know how many times he has been "treated" and where.

There were places where he received real treatment, places where they experimented with him, and places where . . .

He scratches his head, his brow darkens, his voice becomes stern, his muscles twitch into spasms. He ages suddenly, like someone who has been to the depths of hell and back. And he begins to shout:

"These people think we can be cured by torture. Have you any idea what I have gone through?"

"It was my second time in Lipotmezo [National Neuropsychiatric Institute]. Or perhaps the third time. Who the hell remembers? I came to in a bed covered with a rope net. Around me the many idiots, salivating, pissing their pants, and tearing their lips. A doctor came in the afternoon, accompanied by two male nurses, like bodyguards.

"'Are you that Sinka?' growled the doctor. 'OK, release him!'"

"I was barely able to walk. My wrists and ankles hurt, and every part of my body was asleep. They led me into the examining room."

"Let down your pants, we will give you a gold shot."

Sinka hesitated. With his pants halfway down, he stood there miserably.

"Well, what's up? You are not afraid, are you? Come on, come on. I have no time to waste on you."

The two male nurses lifted him under his arms and laid him on the examining table. The doctor went to the medicine cabinet, took a huge syringe, filled it with something, and plunged it into Sinka with a well-aimed and practiced movement.

This scene was repeated daily. Sinka dreaded these forenoons and afternoons. Turning green and purple, his ass was covered with festering sores that did not even let him sleep.

"They just keep injecting it into me, probably as a lesson, to take away my good spirits," he reflected.

When the series of injections ended, two new male nurses came for him.

"Come on, sonny," they said. "We are going to the radio room. You are going to be the semiconductor. They put a black cloak over his shoulders, then led him through the park and along the winding corridors of a building painted yellow. They entered a small room. Instruments, wires and leads everywhere. Spots jumped nervously on the green screens of the oscilloscopes.

They laid him on the examining table and strapped him to it. His sweating palm touched the table's waxcloth cover, and his rubber slippers hung ridiculously in the air. He felt that something was brewing against him, and knew that he would be unable to accept it so casually as McMurphy did in "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest."

A short, goateed man entered the room. At first glance he seemed a kindly grandfather who feeds the pigeons in the park in his spare time. He took some wires, dipped the end of one in a paste and attached it to Gabor Sinka's shoulder. The other pole ended in a hoop, its wire plugged into a switching panel.

The goateed man moistened the hoop, flipped some switches on the panel, the equipment began to hum, and lights lit up on it. He took hold of the hoop's handle and slowly pulled it along Gabor Sinka's body.

In a sort of gray haze, Sinka saw the goateed man lean over him and heard him say repeatedly: "Do you still want to sniff? Do you still want to sniff?"

"He was screeching like a cockatoo And so this is where Hungarian therapy stands today," says Gabor Sinka and puts out the cigaret he just lit. Worn out, he remains silent and keeps staring at the tip of his shoes.

Kalman looks like Christ who has stopped in Budapest instead of Eboli. In this confused world that is incomprehensible to adults and outsiders, he is the professor who can find his way quickly and easily among the ideas and trends.

He only looks, does not say anything. He stands there between the bright doors of the Kalvin Square underpass, waiting for his disciples, friends and passers-by who need him and visit him during his consulting hours this afternoon, like an attorney you get to see only by appointment, punctually and after waiting an appropriate length of time.

Kalman submits himself to the fate he has voluntarily chosen, to his missionary activity. And he waits silently while the strong draft from the metro tunnel blows his reddish, curly hair that extends halfway down his back. He stares with his blue eyes, hypnotizing the people rushing to their daily work, compelling them to look him over if only for a second, and to consider that it is possible to live differently: free of restrictions, when a person may safely undertake to develop and practice a theory, and to devote himself to the problems and troubles of others. In this world that is lapping up rock music, jazz and drugs, Kalman has become--deliberately, yet unconsciously--a leader, a chief ideologist, a darling, everyone's pal. And at the same time, a Kalman who is befittingly serious, understanding and forgiving, a concept.

He is standing in the underpass, watching the crowd. And the knights of daily wages, the we-are-supporting-the-country-but-I-wonder-who-will-support-us-in-our-old-age people, are coming up the escalator and pouring out into the square. Suddenly the reality of Kalman's presence fouls their world, spoiling their dreams and nice thoughts. Only revulsion can be seen on the faces of the many, suitably hardened, comrades, mates and petty bourgeois as they look at this kid.

Kalman does not bother much about clothes. Most of the time he wears rust-colored overalls, similar in cut to what the clowns in the circus wear. In winter he puts on some kind of jacket over this, and that is all. Nor could he have more clothes. A person who sleeps one night here, and the next night somewhere else, cannot afford to lug a suitcase around the whole day.

In this jungle of the general public, Kalman meets the freshman college student who is studying film-directing and has promised Kalman a leading role in a film. All Kalman would have to do would be to play his own life. The camera would wander, trailing Kalman about in the world. There would be no scenario, and only the candid camera would provide the scenes. Kalman quickly agreed to the idea. He liked it and hoped that he would be able to suitably expound his theory of brotherly love, to an excellent and appreciative audience.

In the circle that Kalman inhabits there is only a mechanical form of classification, namely sorting on the basis of external stigmata. The policeman stops to consider only whether the kid is ragged or not, is there an intelligent look in his eyes, and why at his age is he loitering in the underpass where the homeless and the institutional scum hang out. For then this kid must be in some kind of trouble, and it will be advisable to investigate him. But nobody in this entire country is interested in what goes on inside this kid's head.

Well, Kalman and the freshman film director are standing in the underpass, where Kalman is holding consulting hours, and are attempting to talk.

"In other words, what we have in mind," says the freshman, "is to present a day of your life, and thereby in a way your entire life."

With his Christ-like blue eyes, Kalman gazes far off. But even before he can mumble an agreement, a chick stops next to him.

"Hi, Kalman." And she immediately extends her face for a kiss, wiggling her body, her firm fanny and round breasts. "How are things with you?" she asks. Without waiting for an answer, she starts to tell him that they will be going to the Hortobagy on Saturday, it would be nice if Kalman, too, could head in that direction, because there will be a big to do, a very big to do.

"We'll see," says Kalman quietly. He answers the freshman something. But again a teenybopper is fluttering about Kalman. Classes are over in Pal Torok Street, flocks of chicks are leaving the secondary school, and whichever of them finds Kalman here wants to give him a kiss.

"Hi," a dark girl with long hair embraces him; the tip of her school frock hangs out from her briefcase. "Look at my nice boots!"

With the thoroughness of a conscientious father, Kalman examines the boots and feels the uppers. Like a defendant before the judge, the girl awaits Kalman's opinion with abated breath. Kalman waits a bit, and then quietly says, "Nice."

The chick smiles with relief, tosses her head back, and her small breasts are sharply outlined under her light sweater. "You know, I worked three weeks in the Patyolat Laundry to be able to buy them."

Boys and girls come in small groups. Brief exchanges lasting a minute or two, incomprehensible half sentences.

"Hi, Kalman. Will you be there tomorrow?"

"There is a lunch ticket for Wednesday."

"Lend me a tenner."

"I did not find it in the Szechenyi Library."

"Uncle Geza sends his best regards and hopes to never see you again."

The freshman does not understand much from all this, but he is certainly on the right road toward understanding.

Cracker appears on the glass-covered escalator, carrying his ragged leather hat in his hand. He grins, steps to Kalman, embraces and kisses him, fishes a cigaret from his pocket, lights it, looks around a bit, then says casually: "Jozsi and his bunch have been nabbed."

Kalman's brow darkens, but only for a second.

"Yes, I heard." And then he adds: "I told him already in December that what he was doing was stupid."

"Yes. He is liable to get at least a year, unless his father finds a good lawyer."

"The father will eventually find one."

Further silence. Cracker throws away the butt of his cigaret and steps on it. "Well, so long," he says and kisses Kalman. He takes a few steps, then turns back and asks, "Do you happen to have a twenty?"

The freshman listens to this babel of voices. He is still polite and embarrassed. He has yet to learn that if he wants something in this circle, he has to speak up and not let some little shitass interrupt. You have to press on with your exchange, be insistent and achieve your goal, otherwise you will be silenced.

He now gets a chance to say a few words. "We should also discuss what your first drug experience was like. What you felt and did."

The truth of the matter is that everyone in town knows the answer to this petty question, Kalman has related it so many times. Once God appeared to Kalman, as a smiling, kindly old man of olive-brown complexion, with rays emanating from his body. And where God touched Kalman, rays emanated toward heaven from his body as well. Since then Kalman regards himself as one of the "chosen" and tries to live so as to be worthy of God's trust. Of course, this experience may have been drug-induced. But one thing is certain: Kalman is trying to find God again even without the help of drugs, because God made him promise not to use drugs anymore. "Up to now you found me through drugs, and drugs led you to Christ. But I want you to come to me clean, without drugs!" Kalman shed huge crocodile tears and never again touched drugs or held a bag in his hand. The moment he saw the bright colors he promised that since God had appeared to him, he would devote his life to converting others.

He tells the loafers, the people wearing leather clothes or polka-dot kerchiefs, the currency speculators, and the loudly quarreling: "Who follows Christ along the road granted by God can gain light."

Of course, the "road granted by God" means a certain way of life, and Kalman has shaped his own life accordingly. He comes and goes in the city, becomes acquainted with people, and talks to them.

"Just a moment, gentlemen!" he said once on Lujza Blaha Square during a debate on nothing happening in Hungary for years. "That is not the point. Why don't you watch yourselves more closely? God-acting God, why is it that you are unable to perceive what He is doing on this earth? And why is it that believers are not taking part in this thing?"

"Nobody understands this world," he says. "They want to force on us a world that is entirely alien to us. Work is an alienated category. It is doomed, a source only of absurdities and misunderstandings. I am not afraid of work as an objective category, because I am willing to do any kind of work for the community. But work as an occupation, which prostitutes body and soul, is degrading."

Incidentally, the life of the streetwise teenager caught up with Kalman in 1970, when his parents were divorced. He was still only a kid, about 15, with no inkling of what he would develop into, that he would once be standing here in the Kalvin Square underpass, holding consultation hours for his little pals, of his own accord, because God the Father of olive-brown complexion once appeared to him in a narcotic daze.

"There is nothing to say about myself. I have a mother, with whom you can leave a message. I phone her occasionally to find out what is new. We get along, although she fails to understand what is the matter with me in this world. My elder sister and her husband are rather square. We no longer have anything to say to each other. Or more accurately, I always manage to upset those assholes whenever we meet. But my younger sister is truly free. She is still developing, and I am helping her. She must find self-realization. My mother is still holding her on a tight rein, but it is wearing thin and is about to snap. I wish Eva success, the sooner the better, because then she can be her own master. I know her well. She is the strongest member of our entire family. She will be the freest person in the whole world, and I am glad of it."

Kalman was 18 when he ran away from home. He went to Lake Balaton, loafed, enjoyed life and everything it offered. He did not worry much about the future. He knew only that he had to live free, because man cannot tolerate restrictions. There were women, there was booze, and grand, free loafing. And later there were also glue and drugs. But then autumn came and raised the big question: What next? It rained, and large puddles of water formed even on the dirty pavement of the Astoria underpass. Everything was steaming and hopeless. Kalman thought that something was wrong. If so many kids could gather in an underpass, and if so many did not know what to do, then something was indeed nonkosher. By then he knew many of them. He knew that Georgie's father was a drunkard who beat his children. That Skunk had been a ward of the state but ran away, and now was hiding in Kobanya. That Cracker, when he has no money, goes into the Museum Cafe, comes out a few minutes later with an older guy, and an hour later is again back in the underpass, buying beers for everyone around. He saw that the teenyboppers hate to go to school, hate to stay at home, and prefer to loaf around here in the underpass in the afternoon, rather than go to a KISZ meeting.

Kalman at that time felt only vaguely that he did not know enough to answer the question: "What has turned to shit here?"

It is difficult to see clearly in this semiunderworld. Confusing ideas, confusing relationships and points of contact obscure the lines. Not even a sociologist could sort out this circle that actually is not a circle, since it lacks definite collective social characteristics. This grouping is not typical of anyone or anything. This is not the working class, not intellectuals, not the petty bourgeoisie, and not a minicaste within the larger caste of lumpenproletarian families. A person with deeper insight would say that in the case of these children, regardless of what class or stratum they come from, the family as a supporting background has broken down and is defective. But even this is only a vulgarizing statement.

"We find it significant that P. addicts, too, come into conflict with their families and society, just as narcomaniacs generally do. They demonstrate this with their way of life, dress, etc. They consider any restriction as a burden. Their philosophy is the negation of everything. They do not work at all, or only occasionally, because 'it is not worth working,' as they say. They declare that it would be in vain to attempt to earn an amount sufficient for their needs, because they 'cannot buy a car and have outgrown a bicycle.' Instead, they prefer to loaf and choose solutions that makes them 'feel good.' They emphasize that momentarily their negation is not directed against anyone or anything, and--citing examples from the United States--they claim that the standpoint and behavior of youths there are similar. There is no question of a 'ready-made ideology,' they say, but they intend to develop one." (Dr Odon Kisszekelyi, "An Anti-Parkinsonism Drug as a Hallucinogen," ORVOSI HETILAP, Vol 114, 1973.)

Kalman observed life and visited whenever he could the main reading room of the Szechenyi Library. At first the librarians turned up their noses at this ragged, long-haired and bearded fellow. But since Kalman had taken out the required 3-forint reading card, they could not throw him out. They looked on him as a freak. One of the librarians, driven by the prejudice that mass communication had carefully instilled in him, hated Kalman outright. "I would round such guys up and send them to Baracska to dig ditches and hoe crops; there they would learn what work is." But when they saw that Kalman did not spit in the corner, put his feet on the table or attack the girl students studying for their university exams, the librarians were reassured.

As for Kalman, he read everything in succession. Plato and Thomas Moore, Saint-Simon and Voltaire, Marx and Lenin, Plekhanov, everything from Stalin that was not classified as restricted-access material, and Gyorgy Lukacs.

"I examined everything and compared it with what I had experienced. If it disagreed, I rejected it. If it agreed with what I had seen, I began to ponder over it. It is certain that they--e.g., Marx--believed then in what they wrote, but what has become of it For example, where is the work through which one finds self-fulfillment? The elimination of class differences, pay commensurate with the work performed, and these things?"

He saw that the idea of communism was truly nice, but impossible to implement. Anyhow, the whole thing was described much more nicely in the Bible. Indeed, he found far more useful ideas in the Bible than anywhere else.

"There is no light where there is hatred and enmity, fighting, war and bossism, because evil has blinded their eyes," he once told Tiny in the street in front of the Law Faculty. By then Kalman went regularly to the various universities, sat in on the lectures that interested him, and prepared notes. The university students tolerated him. And the lecturers really could not tell who that oddly dressed, long-haired and bearded boy always sitting in one of the rear rows was.

"According to materialism, cavemen with stone axes were running around on earth a few thousand years ago," wrote Kalman in his notebook at one of the lectures

on philosophy. By then he realized that if he wanted to take his mission seriously and really achieve that loiterers begin to think about their own lot, he would have to make compromises in the interest of the cause. He knew that the police were rigorously photographing the homeless and could run a person in if a simple identity check revealed that the person in question had no employment. Therefore Kalman looked around for a job. He sought the kind of work that would allow him the most freedom. Therefore he went to the Academy of Fine Arts to model. Mornings he stood in one of the classrooms, dressed or naked, with a drapery wound around him or holding a blacksmith's hammer. And while the fledgling artists were drawing him or forming him in clay, he had time to think.

"This is completely ridiculous," he thought once as he happened to be posing in a steelmaker's apron. "At least a thousand copies of my face must be stored here in the collection, and they still do not know who I am and what I want!"

Kalman sensed that they are the living, negative conscience of society who couldn't care less about the whole thing, are still undergoing a quantitative change and have not yet reached a qualitative one. He attempts to classify life and the world, but somehow he is bogged down in setting up his categories.

"You know," he once said, "there are guys who read Ady the whole day in the underpass. And there are others whose idea of fun is, say, to get a blow job from a chick behind the Batthanyi Square market, or to shout 'Heil Hitler' in the Ibolya Cafe."

The central figure in this confusingly composed world is Kalman. He is the one who finds shelter and food for someone in great need, even though he himself has nothing to eat, and he too sleeps only on the linoleum-covered floor of a wretched flophouse.

"You have to be careful with the principle of authority. I do not have authority, I am not a boss. All I am trying to do is to persuade people to try to spend their time usefully and meaningfully when they meet. I want them to discover values. I teach them if necessary," he says very seriously while stroking his red beard reflectively with his thin fingers. When I see that they are able to stand on their own feet, I fade. To avoid it being said that I want to be a leader."

He is afraid, and does everything to avoid, charges that he is seeking power, because that is completely foreign to his philosophical system. In spite of his intentions, he is the center, the core, and is accepted as the certified and only reliable standard. Kalman's opinion often decides an argument, although he tries to word what he has to say so as to find cover behind its ambiguity.

"Love is capable of everything. All human relationships should be based on love, and it should be the decisive factor of every social action," he says in one of the booths in the Negro Espresso, while warming his hands over a teacup.

Among the members of the new and ambitious generation, of course, there already are individuals who want to replace Kalman by all means, who want to acquire

for themselves the enviable and easy position of prophetic leader, and who claim that Kalman is sly and suspect. What is he preaching about love when he himself admits to not liking everyone? And it is suspicious that he does not smoke anything, and that the police ran him in only once. Although, admittedly, he did spend 24 days in Baracska that time.

Slowly Kalman is beginning to slip. His position is starting to be undermined, although he is doing everything possible to retain it until the end of time. But one day Kalman will disappear in the darkness, and nobody will remember him. No one will recall having once received a tenner from him to buy potato stew.

Geza Horvath, a Calvinist minister, "deserted" his church nine years ago, although many people claim that he is maintaining close contact with it. As a worker priest, he is selling etchings, paintings and lithographed pictures throughout the country, to support his family and to finance the costs of the afternoons at which he is able to realize his ideas. His method is simple and effective, but it requires an immense amount of energy, which only a person can expend who has no fixed working hours and has dedicated his life to this. Once every two or three months, he and his young followers roam the city, go to the kids loitering in the underpasses, talk to them and invite them to tea. This is a modern, 20th-century ministry, and nobody can compete with it. For Geza Horvath's home is warm, the company is good, you can drink tea and eat bread with drippings, and everyone can say what is on his mind.

According to Geza Horvath's own statistics, the number of drug addicts in the groups of 30 kids each can be estimated at 10 to 12. After the weeks of initial exploratory conversations, to get to know the kids and accustom them to coming, they begin to discuss questions of ideology and life-style. It soon becomes apparent who came to get warm, and who longs for companionship and a meaningful goal. Of the 10 to 12 drug addicts, usually eight stay and participate in programs that attempt to give them a goal.

"To mention only one example," the minister says, "just imagine what an experience it is for the kids when on Saturdays we go to a Calvinist welfare home, to bathe the idiotic children. Many of the kids suddenly realize here that there are others even less fortunate than they. The kids see that such welfare work is meaningful."

As we examine the statistics further, we find that seven of the eight addicts completely stop their sniffing or pill-popping. All as a result of the "therapy" that Geza Horvath has developed, on the basis of foreign models and by using his domestic connections. With the minister's help, those who really want to kick their habit voluntarily can gain admission to the Psychiatric Clinic. This is no small achievement, because the clinic is constantly crowded, and it has not been established to treat such patients.

The therapy takes three weeks. During this time, alternating members of the small group visit the "patient," already because the "patient's" drug-addicted old friends are stiff competition for the "missionaries."

"We must never lose sight of anyone," explains the minister. "It is essential for them to feel that we care, that Christ will never abandon them. In 90 percent of the cases, these kids come from broken homes, and this is perhaps the first time they find themselves in a real collective."

"But this does not appear to be enough. After a stay in the hospital, often everything continues as before. The same environment, and the same friends."

"And this is what would happen if we were to stop halfway. But we keep track of them even after they leave the clinic. From divinity school I have friends throughout the country. Thus I am able to arrange for the kid to stay at a parish house in the provinces for 3 or 4 weeks. He helps around the house, tends the garden, and is treated like a member of the family. We send the minister some money for the kid's keep. We ourselves raise this money."

"But this agains solves the problem only for 3 or 4 weeks. When the kid returns to Budapest, he will still have no place to stay and no job, as before."

"That is exactly what we wish to avoid. We find lodgings for the kids, and sometimes we are able to place them in fairly good jobs. The essential thing is that they should feel that they belong to someone."

"But why are you certain that this solution is a good one? The same thing has been tried in Sweden and has failed."

"In my opinion, this is the solution," says Geza Horvath. "Because the police, dissuasion and hospital torture do not help. These kids are suffering from existential disease. They do not find their lives meaningful. They are unable to answer the question: Why should I live? They are troubled by questions to which neither Marxism nor Christianity can provide answers. They need a long-term goal and a collective in which they can believe. The gangs are very loose collectives. And believe me, they themselves are bored the most with loitering in an underpass."

We had been seeking Gabor Sinka for weeks. We inquired everywhere in the city, but nobody knew anything about him. We visited his mother several times, and also his wife, but he was never at home.

We made the rounds of all the places in Budapest where you could meet drug addicts. We left messages in Lujza Blaha Square and the Kalvin Square metro station, and went to the Zichy Castle. We sought him in Geza Horvath's home, looked in on the jazz club in Sandor Petofi Street, and inquired from Kalman and Marci Raff. The last possibility was the daytime sanatorium on Gyula Kulich Square.

In the cellar they were just getting ready for a happening. This is where they opened the "Life and the Earth" avant-garde exhibition showing "intellectual and other products from the life of the Budapest Underground Center during the past 18 months."

Rotted wooden stairs lead to a dark corridor. You have to duck because the heating system's pipes run in all directions under the arches. The corridor

expands at its end. A 25W lamp illuminates the room. On an iron-framed garden bench against the whitewashed wall, a young Romeo and Juliet are fiercely intertwined. A painted red star blooms like a halo above their heads. Two smokers in the corner take an occasional swing from a one-liter bottle. The room gradually fills up, and we wait patiently for the steel door to open that leads into the one-time air raid shelter. Above the door the inscription: "Marx-Lenin-Lukacs Over Everything."

It is completely dark in the air raid shelter. Suddenly a well-known march, heard usually on ceremonial occasions, begins to blare as we enter. We bump into one another and the seats, seek something to hang onto, and grope along the wall. The tune repeats itself, as when a gramophone needle is stuck in a groove. Somebody lights a match, a candle flares up and its light weakly illuminates the "stage."

On the floor, a school map of Europe, onto which Georgie throws cockroaches that were dipped in red paint. The cockroaches begin to crawl, smearing the paint over Eastern, Central and Western Europe. We barely have time to perceive what is going on when Georgie crushes the cockroaches with his military boots. We look around and see that people are looking at one another questioningly. But Georgie does not leave them time to think and blows out the candle. Hesitant laughter here and there, and then applause. But actually nobody knows what the whole thing was supposed to mean.

The bewilderment and incomprehension lead to a lengthy and confusing argument. According to Georgie: "This happening is . . . well, you know . . . you understand what I want to say." He stops and someone seriously interjects: "Of course we understand!"

Georgie does not let himself be distracted. He goes to the corner, grabs a 2-kilogram loaf under his arm and pulls the wrapping paper off a small pile.

"Unfortunately, that is all I was able to do," he says pointing to the excrement. He reaches into his pocket, takes out a knife, slices the bread, spreads a thick layer on the slices, and then offers the slices around.

"Well, you know . . . a West German happener was the first one to do this . . . but here, of course, the necessary conditions are lacking . . . nevertheless you probably feel in your subconscious what-do-you-call-it . . . that disgust . . . in other words, this is some kind of psychosomething . . . I don't know how to say it . . . but . . . but . . . a happening is a happening. Well, the important thing is . . . I think . . . that we are here . . . and you are also here . . . and we are together . . . and you feel what I feel. Don't you?"

With this the exhibition was declared open. An invisible hand turned on the light, the Police ensemble began to blare from a tape deck. The crowd mills about, and everyone walks up and down among the exhibits.

Next to the entrance, a retouched color photograph of a shock-workerish father and a mother embracing their cross-eyed young son. Under it the inscription: "A Stalinist family." On a beat-up dining table, small articles and documents

in a typically museum arrangement. An official notice, serial number 027479, certifying that Anna Varga has been entered in the register of voters. Next to it the comment: "A strange world's document of unknown purpose." Further on, the manuscript of a Polish avant-garde play. Next to it a Slovak copy of Charter 77.

A tall, bald boy wearing wire-rimmed glasses approaches us, his face flat as if smashed with a baker's peel.

"Would you be interested in a 3-ton aviation engine? It still works. Was left behind by the Wehrmacht."

"We wouldn't know where to put it."

"The propeller would be a real conversation piece."

Continuing our tour of the exhibition, we read the inscriptions and wonder what sentiments led someone to paint them on the walls. Scrutinizing the faces, we would like to read their thoughts to explain why the following wise saying remains for us the only perspective: "Building its hill, the ant does not need the cricket's music." Or what experiences and disappointments guided the hand that wrote: "Grab life so that later life may drop you from its claws." Perhaps this exhibition provides the answer.

An old sleeping bag hangs from the cellar wall, a girl sits cross-legged before it and cries in the tone of a barker at the fair: "Here you see Misi Nagy's sleeping bag, convincing proof that many good people fit in a small place."

We go on and encounter additional articles, not knowing who the people are about whose lives these articles offer some message. When we come to the last "display," it suddenly dawns on us that what we see here is tragicomic. Each of these articles, which in themselves are ridiculous, symbolizes the life of someone, because everyone brought here what he happened to have. What is important to him in life, what expresses its essence, what enables him to leave a trace of himself behind in this world. Perhaps this trace is a broken flute "on which only nicer tunes must be played," according to Gabor Sinka. Perhaps a broken tricycle, a message from childhood. Or a childish verse that someone painted on white drawing paper: "Grandpa arrived on Tuesday/ Since then all is groovy."

Perhaps a letter. A suicide note. It could have been signed by anyone here:

"I am tossing in the towel. I cannot reconcile myself to the fact that everyone else can stand it but me. I formed a concept of life, but it cannot be realized here. Until now I hoped that I could leave, but now it is already clear that I can't. I have been planning this for a long time and have only waited to reach G., which will make it easier. Continue your miserable existence, you filthy wretches, you too will perish. I beg you forgiveness. Yours, Dad. And yours, Mother. I loved you. It is useless for me to write this, for nobody will understand me anyhow. If someone could understand, I would not have to die. I am so terribly alone, and everybody is against me.

It does not make sense even so. I do not want to go to prison, although the whole thing is a prison. This way I will also avoid serving in the army. Who understands me should follow me. Peter"

While reading these lines, we both suddenly feel that there is nothing more. We leave the cellar and sit down in the yard. In the bottom of our hearts we feel that we can do nothing more than "hold a mirror" to this world. But the image in the mirror is always the same, as if everything were standing still. Everything is motionless. Everyone is waiting for something.

We sit on the bench silently and have nothing to say to each other. We watch inanely the glowing tips of our cigarets and lack even the strength to stand up and start for home. We just sit there in the still May night, watch the neon signs vibrate in the second-floor windows, and listen to the clatter from the kitchens.

As we collect our wits after the long silence, we notice that a small crowd has formed at the entrance. Geza Horvath and Jozsef Karpati are standing in the center of the crowd, talking with downcast eyes. We hear only fragments of the conversation.

"When did it happen?" asks someone, perhaps Karpati.

"Early in the morning of the 5th," says a distinct voice, Geza Horvath's voice.

"I can't believe it."

"His mother telephoned. Allegedly he became ill on the street. Somewhere in Csepel."

"Yet his test results were very good lately," says Karpati.

"I too refused to believe it. I thought he had kicked it," says Karpati.

"What did you say, when did it happen?"

"On the 5th," replies Geza Horvath.

Karpati stands stunned in the center of the ring around him. He nervously plucks his beard and just shakes his head. The crowd gradually begins to disperse. Everybody is talking about the case. As Georgie passes by, we ask him out of politeness, without even glancing up: "What happened? Has someone died?"

"Yes."

"Who?"

Georgie stops in front of us and says quietly: "Gabor Sinka."

The last port of Gabor Sinka's life, of his wandering on earth, was the Koranyi Hospital. An ambulance brought him there for the last time on 3 May 1980, already his 95th admission.

Patients wearing institutional pajamas and dressing gowns are waiting at the public telephone in the wide hall. Many of them are barely able to sit on the bench. Others are only leaning against the wall, so motionless as if they were cast in bronze. Glazed eyes, slow motions, thick cigaret smoke, blackened tiles, scratched walls. The corridor is rigid and reverberates far. As one walks up and down along it, he has the feeling as if he were trodding on the destinies of people.

The examining room is empty. Only a male nurse is lying on the examination table, his legs crossed, reading LUDAS MATYI. Yellowed tiles on the walls, the floor wet, the foul smell of desinfectant mixed with sweat. Immediately to the left of the door, the "royal throne" for the "better" patients who get their stomachs pumped.

In the resuscitation room, beds of peculiar design; a million flashing instruments, oxygen cylinders and nurses watch over the "corpse" to keep him from dying.

Finally, the wards whose every corner was familiar to Gabor Sinka. He knew the steel chairs painted white; the worn night tables; the smell of starched bed linen; the smells of night drunks, suicides and the raving mad; the color and taste of the leather straps in the net-covered bed; and the strange changing pattern of the the woven rope net in early sunlight.

The doctor excuses himself, disappears for a moment, then returns to his tiny office with a thick folder under his arm. He presses to his body then places on the desk the hospital reports on the most tormented hours of Gabor Sinka's life. In a monotonous voice, as objectively as possible, relying on facts and solely on facts, he reads what follows:

"At 15:16 on 3 May 1980, Gabor Sinka was brought to the hospital unconscious, from a public thoroughfare, the corner of Szechenyi Road and Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Road, in Csepel. The physician on duty pumped his stomach, but no pill was evacuated. It was assumed that by then the pill had been absorbed. A urine sample, obtained by means of a catheter, smelled of a nitrosolvent. During admission, he responded to pain stimulus. The following injuries were detected on him: In the cellular tissue of his left cubital fossa, a slightly purulent old wound, but already healing. Probably--the doctor looks up from his file--the site of an old injection. A small bump was palpable on his head. His breathing was faint, his breath smelled of ammonia, the mucous membrane moderately filled with blood. His pulse was 130. The heart was rhythmic and tachycardic, i.e., beating faster than normal. Gaseous exchange in the lungs by tissue respiration. Liver not palpable, and therefore no enlargement due to alcohol abuse. Patient's pupils dilated and do not respond to light. No nystagmus, or at least not noticeable.

"He was connected to an oxygen respirator at 16:36. Sinka's right pupil was much more dilated than the left one, and he also had periodic convulsions. Therefore the physician suspected subdural hemorrhage. Transferred to Neurosurgery on Amerikai Road, for angiography. In other words, a dye was injected into his right vein--the doctor pointed to the vein of his own arm--and circulation of the dye was monitored by x-ray. The right carotid system

was found to be filling properly. The arteries supplying the brain intact and normally located, with the arteria media along the median line. According to the doctors on Amerikai Road, there is no x-ray evidence of any space-reducing process inside the skull, consequently there is no abnormal brain pressure."

After the examination, the unconscious Gabor Sinka was returned to Koranyi Hospital by emergency ambulance.

"At 20:30, they resorted only to the process of elimination," says the doctor. "Blood was drawn from him, and an eunocin test was done on a sample of urine. The blood barbiturate test revealed the presence of Sevenal. The usual advice is not to bother much with a drug addict," sputters the doctor bitterly. "He will either die or live."

After this outburst, the doctor continues to outline the events.

"The next day was 4 May. The patient's condition was unchanged, he remained unconscious. The physician suspects brain damage due to hypoxia. The therapy continues. He is given vitamins C and B-6, and drugs that enhance the detoxification capacity of the kidneys. He received Tetran injections, Citomac (a Swiss preparation that is a general detoxifier), and also Alcaligen. A blood sugar test was performed. But collapse was already coming with lightning speed.

"After 00:00 on May 5, the physician on duty was called. At 00:30, the patient's breathing became periodic. Artificial respiration was applied with a Ruben balloon until he could be connected to a respirator. He is given three ampules of Spiractin intravenously, which should have restarted his respiration. Regrettably, at 00:40 Gabor Sinka suffered a circulatory collapse. Resuscitation was unsuccessful. He is given an injection of Isuprel, which still may restore cardiac action."

The doctor drops the last sheet on the desk.

"At this point it is customary to wait five more minutes," he says, heaves a big sigh, leans back in his chair, takes off his glasses, and tiredly rubs his eyes. After brief reflection, he quietly adds: "Probably the cause of death was the combined action of the Sevenal and a nitrosolvent. This stress proved too much for his organism that gradually deteriorated over the past 6 to 8 years. The autopsy could reveal the exact cause, but only if the pathologist does a truly detailed examination. And that is unlikely." (1977-1980)

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POLAND

BORDER GUARD, NAVY CELEBRATE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY

Border Guard Commander Interviewed

Warsaw ZA WOLNOSCI.LUD in Polish No 23, 8 Jun 85 p 3

[Interview with the commander of the Border Troops, Brigadier General Feliks Stramik, by ZA WOLNOSCI LUD correspondent, Robert Tychwalski: "Performing Service Effectively And With Honor"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] General, could you briefly elaborate on the emergence and development of your organization...

[Answer] As is universally known, Poland returned to her ancient lands in the West and North as a result of the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition of 40 years ago. A new border was delineated which had to be properly secured. The execution of this mission was entrusted to selected units returning from the front. It was 10 June 1945 when the order was given to execute this mission and this day has been generally accepted as the date of the establishment of the Border Troops, even though they still did not yet officially exist as a select unit. It is recognized that the date of the actual posting of the borders is the most important aspect. For this reason, 10 June is our holiday. Officially, the Border Troops were organized on 13 September 1945 when the defense minister issued an order with regard to this. Here, I would like to emphasize that the execution of this order took place efficiently and quickly, despite some difficult circumstances. The lands in the North and West were not yet settled and there was no shortage of Hitlerite subversives and ordinary bandits. However, several weeks later, regular detachments of the Border Troops took up the execution of their service.

[Question] I believe that much work was required to prepare correctly those units for service. Was it very specialized work?

[Answer] Of course, it was a unique process and not an easy one at that; we did not have the proper cadre and had had absolutely no experience here. It is worth emphasizing here the fact that our Soviet comrades extended us comprehensive assistance then; they taught our young border guards, cooperated in the setting up of organizational structures and training. In a word, they showed us how we should secure our borders effectively.

Many of them maintain contact with us still, inasmuch as they are interested in our service and work. We appreciate these contacts very much; they are only a single aspect of the Polish-Soviet military brotherhood. As time went on, we acquired experience and were able to reorganize to some extent and become more efficient. This enhanced the effectiveness of our service. We also began work on our legal regulation with regard to the safeguarding the borders of a socialist country. This issue was settled on 23 March 1956 with a decree from the state Council. This decree remains today our basic legal document covering our operations.

[Question] Protecting the country's borders in the first postwar years was particularly difficult and dangerous...

[Answer] Yes, because we need to remember that it was a time when there was a great deal of moving back and forth by the people. People were returning from the concentration camps and from forced labor; Poles who had fought in Western Europe were also returning home. Settlers, resettled from various parts of the country and from abroad, were moving west. There were very specific conditions. It was obvious that among all these many people there were also those whose objectives and intentions were not legal or in the interests of the Polish People's Republic. The most important thing, however, was that we were safeguarding the borders while a bitter class struggle was going on in the country. Three hundred forty-three border guards gave their lives then in the defense of the people's power.

[Question] Did the efficient setting up of our borders and the securing of the western and northern limits of our country also have repercussions as far as our international relations were concerned?

[Answer] These borders were a very substantial factor in our international relations. When at the Potsdam Conference the representatives of the great powers were discussing Polish affairs, the safeguarding of our new borders was a serious argument and politically sensitive.

[Question] Shortly after the war's end, former allies changed sides and began working out plans for a struggle against communism. These plans caused especially serious events...

[Answer] ...which were ominous and dangerous for Poland, inasmuch as they destabilized our difficult, but peaceful work. The period of "the Cold War" began. Large and small groups of saboteurs, spies and agents began showing an increasing interest in our country, its army and its economy; people were sought out who would be ready to play the role of informant for the right price. Fortunately, a patriotic reaction to this was also inspired. Our mission was to secure our borders as most effectively as possible to prevent these uninvited guests from carrying out their intentions.

From 1 January 1949 we have been officially operating under the Ministry of Security, later, the Ministry of Internal Affairs. However, as in the beginning, we coordinated among ourselves because only our close internal cooperation could ensure the effective execution of our mission. It is still the case today.

[Question] General, are your duties today any different than they were, perhaps somewhat easier?

[Answer] Our duties are basically the same. Are they easier? I believe that to a certain degree, yes. We are using better and more efficient forms of organization and we have the aid of very modern equipment. We work closely together with the border forces of the USSR, Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic. This cooperation is extensive, everyday and friendly. I also have to stress that our operations could not be totally effective if it were not for the support, assistance rapport of the local population in the areas of our service. This service is very specific and difficult and requires courage, initiative and the ability to make the proper decision in all kinds of circumstances. One unusually important aspect of border protection is the control of people as they move across the borders. Here, we work closely and productively with the officials of our customs offices. More and more people are traveling around the world and many tourists are coming to Poland. Inasmuch as we do not want to restrict ourselves to the execution of purely military missions, our border guards live where they work and participate in various projects and occupation, including cultural, educational and sport, as well as production. And this is with the people and the people are with the Army." This is no simple platitude. It has really been this way and remains so today. I will add that Polish Boy Scout Formations of the Border Service are active in many schools along the border. These formations are for young adults and are an aid to us. I believe that this fact is very meaningful.

[Question] Contacts with the people, including young adults, are really rich, interesting and undoubtedly very positive. I would like to ask if you all also find the time to meet with those who laid the foundations of our Fatherland? I am thinking here about former combat soldiers...

[Answer] I cannot imagine how it could be otherwise. I would primarily like to emphasize that there are many people along our borders who served in the Border Troops; this facilitates considerably our mutual contacts and easily permits us to find a common language. A key role is played here by the circles of the Union of Former Professional Soldiers. Cooperation here is quite varied and is conducted on many levels. Here we are talking about patriotic-educational activity, joint participation in social and political actions, passing on the facts concerning the traditions of our organization and our entire Army, and the joint organization of cultural, educational and sport activity. What I have mentioned is aimed at our young people and serves to educate them. Former combat soldiers are also frequent guests in our units and watch-towers where they share stories and experiences during these meetings with our young soldiers and pass on their rich knowledge and experience. They do this emotionally and with a great deal of enthusiasm. The old warriors feel simply as if there were soldiers who still bear responsibility for the country's fate and for whom service has not yet ended. I really do not have to add that such attitudes on the part of the Association of Fighters for Liberty and Democracy members are a model for emulation and bring great benefits to society and the country.

[Question] What, General, should we wish the commanders, cadre and soldiers of the Border Troops on their day of celebration and as part of their 40th anniversary?

[Answer] Above all, I wish that they would continue to perform their service efficiently and with soldierly honor and that they accomplish their assigned missions in such a manner that future classes of border guards may take advantage of the rich and excellent experiences of our predecessors. You should also wish, and we are trying very hard and to the best of our abilities, that we increase the effectiveness of our operations in order that they influence even more strongly the state of our country's security and its law and order. Another appropriate wish would be for us to continue to be able to count on the assistance and respect of the public. This is very important to us. Finally, and in conclusion, I would like to take the opportunity afforded to me here to wish all border guards and their families success and satisfaction in their service, much health and happiness in their lives.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

Navy Press Conference, Ceremonies

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Jun 85 p 2

[Article by Adam Schmidt: "Protecting Our Maritime Borders"]

[Text] Forty years ago, in the spring of 1945, soldiers of the people's Polish Army extended their combat watch to the maritime gates of the Polish People's Republic.

On Thursday, there was a press conference on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic's Navy at the Franciszek Zubrzycki Naval Training Center in Ustka. The conference was conducted by the commander of the Navy, Admiral Ludwik Janczyszyn. Those present included: the deputy commander of the Navy for political affairs, Vice Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski, the chief of the Navy's Propaganda and Agitation Department, Commander Konrad Zielinski, and the commandant of the Navy Specialists Training Center, Commander Stanislaw Lalek.

In presenting the 40-year history of the Navy, Admiral Ludwik Janczyszyn emphasized that the evolving Navy had from its inception a working class trait. The establishment of a people's Navy is inseparably bound to the reconstruction of the Polish state after the conclusion of World War II. Even while military operations were still going on, the Supreme Command of the Polish Army established on 29 October 1944 the first prototype unit of the future naval forces - the 1st Independent Reserve Naval Battalion.

The admiral stressed further that the coalitional system of defense of the Warsaw Treaty Organization created extensive possibilities of cooperation between the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and the Polish People's Republic. At a pre-conference meeting the night before (actually

during the night of 19-20 June), journalists from central and local press agencies observed at one of the maritime ranges a portion of an exercise, including the landing on a fortified beach by assault landing subunits. This show was an excellent display of the cooperation and team solidarity between the crews on the Navy's assault landing craft and the soldiers of the coastal defense unit.

Also on Thursday, in Gdynia and Oksywie, there was a ceremonial opening of an exhibition displaying the inventions and innovations of the Polish People's Republic's Navy. The commander of the Navy, Admiral Janczyszyn, and Vice Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski were present. The exhibition presents a rich collection of accomplishments and 17,000 innovators and inventors in naval uniforms have passed by. The effect of their work includes 13,250 ideas, inventions and patents, the implementation of which has saved a sum of approximately 650 million zlotys.

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POLAND

RAKOWSKI CRITICAL OF CONVERTS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 23, 6 Jun 85 p 3

[Interview With Nieczyslaw F. Rakowski by Edward Chudzinski, Wlodzimierz Rydzewski and Andrzej Urbanczyk]

[Excerpts] Chudzinski: You are the first person so far to agree to a second interview in the Three Versus One series. In fact, you were the one with whom the series started, back in the time when Zdanie was a quarterly. Inevitably, we shall refer to that early interview occasionally and not only to see if you are consistent. We have no plans for other perverse acts against you.

Rydzewski: A lot has changed since the previous interview. Zdanie is different, the people we interview have changed for many reasons, and you occupy a totally different position. (...)

Rakowski: It's true, there's been a lot of change. Some former Party journalists now sermonize in churches, while Stefan Staszewski, aged 75 and a former Komintern leader, has taken baptism, a fact dutifully recorded by Der Spiegel.

Chudzinski: Then the situation is ripe for writing another "Undivine Comedy."

Urbanczyk: What do you think about it? About the way people have changed?

Rakowski: First you would have to ask what has happened. Why do some people not only cross the floor but do it in such a spectacular way? I well remember Staszewski as an outstanding tyrant and an especially thick-headed fellow. He was the head of the PZPP CC Department of Press and Publications. He was lordly and inaccessible to people who depended on him. His whole behavior was marked by conceit which--as I thought then--was alien to communists. He also gained notoriety for his brutality toward the peasants of the Wielkopolska region when he acted as a plenipotentiary of the CC--if I remember correctly--for matters of grain procurement. In 1956 he emerged as a champion of the October renewal. I know the fellow quite well because from 1949 to 1952 I worked in the department which he headed. We might therefore ask him whether he was in the Communist movement because of his convictions, or whether it was just an accidental affair. Similarly with Dariusz Fikus, a longterm Party secretary at Polityka where I was the editor-in-chief. He too ended up in church. So have a few others.

I think that both for Fikus and the others I have in mind, the stay in the church is not temporary, not just a shelter to keep the rain and storms out. I think there is something more at work here.

Chudzinski: These are fine examples, but why should there be so much hue and cry about it? After all, when you look at the history of the great political movements, even if only in the 20th century, you see that this is not anything new. Such political turnabouts and conversions were also commonplace in the working class movement.

Rakowski: You're right. Therefore I'm not making a great deal out of it, rather I'm looking at it with a smile, bearing in mind the beginning of Heine's poem which reads "O Lord, how huge your zoological garden is! I do not get excited as I look at the garden, although, as a historian, I am interested in all extreme behavior. I accept that every person has to make choices and, in making them, he may err. But I believe you should not move from one extreme to the other. Each of us carries the stigma of his past with him and you can't get rid of it the minute you enter church. Especially when there is a lot on your conscience you should not demonstrate your expiation noisily. I do not think the new converts arouse very much trust among the deeply faithful Catholics.

Chudzinski: Isn't that a product of the specific Polish situation?

Rakowski: I'm weary of this kind of specific Polish situation.

Chudzinski: I just meant to say that the extremes you mentioned would not have been so extreme perhaps if it were possible to make less extreme choices. Before the war, when the peasant leaders parted with the SL party, they did not immediately land in the National Party, let alone the "Phalanx," because en route, so to say, there was the BBWR (Non-Party Block for Cooperation with the Government), the OZON (National Unity Camp), the Labor Alliance, not to mention the socialists and communists. As a result, there were not many U-turns. A communist did not cross the floor to the nationalist camp and vice versa.

Rakowski: Rather not.

Chudzinski: And today? In point of fact, the choice is limited to the Party and allied groups on the one hand and the Church on the other.

Rakowski: So you want to say that there is nothing in the middle between the two extremes?

Rydzewski: Because in reality that's how it is. (...)

Rakowski: I want to go back to the basic issue. It has been suggested here that those who do not want to become associated with the Party or who say goodbye to it have nowhere else to go but the Church. From the formal point of view other choices are also possible: there is the ZSL, the SD, the PROM...

Rydzewski: But this is rather a formal choice.

Rakowski: It is and it isn't. After all, there are different orientations, sanctioned not only formally. For example, there is the PAY, which has a different political orientation than Tygodnik Powszechny.

Chudzinski: Do you mean that Fikus, who parted with the PZPR and Polityka, could go to PAX and Kierunki? Some may think that Fikus at the pulpit is funny, but Fikus in PAX would really be a cabaret sight...

Rakowski: No, I wanted to say something else. Staszewski's, mine or Fikus's generation opted in definite historical conditions for the revolutionary camp, to use the most general terms. This camp has recorded great success to its credit, although it is also responsible for just as many errors, distortions, even crimes. My deepest conviction is that if you lose faith in that camp and do not think it possible to stay in it any longer when you are no longer very young, you should put your tail between your legs and remain silent. You can expect such a reaction from a fully conscious man who takes responsibility for what he did and for what he is doing.

I told myself that when I leave this job--and some time I will--I will not feel offended by the time spent in this position, nor the time that will follow, because my criticism would in fact be pathetic. When you want to tell others what you liked about the period when you were at the helm, what you disagreed with, what you accepted and what you didn't, you could turn to writing memoirs, for examples.

Meanwhile, the things some "comrades" or ex-comrades are doing are examples of the worst moral posture possible. When they were in power, they took advantage of all the privileges, often quite greedily, but when they stopped holding the high posts, they became embittered critics, even enemies of the system. What kind of morality is this? Can these people inspire confidence?

Rydzewski: This is no morality at all, but at the same time it's politics. For when there are only two tribunes and you step down from one, you can mount the other or quit the political scene altogether.

Rakowski: There you are talking of tribunes again, while I am talking of postures examined from the point of view of elementary moral principles. I am inclined to understand disappointment, which is only human, but the road from that to active fight against the camp you used to belong to is quite long.

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POLAND

CATHOLIC EDITOR REBUTS PRESS ATTACK

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 30, 28 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by Jerzy Turowicz: "Kaluzynski The Theologian"]

[Text] Zygmunt Kaluzynski has accustomed his readers to the arrogance and pushiness which pervades his columns. But when he recently chose to strike the pose of theologian and exegete (in the weekly Kultura, No. 6, 1985) he outdid himself. In his article called "Deceiving Many" Kaluzynski attacks my article on "Church and Politics" (from Tygodnik Powszechny No. 12, 1985), which he flatteringly describes as a manifesto, but, fortunately for me, he attacks equally fiercely the Polish Episcopate and the Church in general. The target of his attack is the Church's involvement in politics. Although the particular nature of this involvement, and its limits, are unequivocally defined in my article, and even more meticulously in different Church documents, Kaluzynski the exegete quotes Jesus's injunction "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's" to rule out all kinds of involvement. He even says, "Whenever I read the Gospel and later look at some Church statement, I literally experience a shock, and I think the Church has perhaps become guilty of blasphemy."

No detailed polemic with Kaluzynski's contentions is necessary or possible, because such an undertaking would amount to yet another repetition of what has been said so many times but which Kaluzynski fails to comprehend or pretends to fail to comprehend. Let me therefore confine myself to just a few points to show that when Kaluzynski moves in the area of the Church vs. politics he does so in total innocence of any knowledge of the matter.

Thus Kaluzynski says the Church's involvement in politics is unacceptable because politics are always about money, material gain and doing business, and this is incompatible with the Gospel. This is a very peculiar concept of politics. I think it was old Aristotle who observed that the purpose of politics is to take care of the common good of the public. As for "doing business," sure enough there is one particular kind of business the Church is always keen to take care of--the business of human rights. An expert on the Gospels ought also to remember the supreme commandment of Christianity, as phrased by Jesus, namely to love God and to love thy neighbor. It also clearly follows from the Gospel that love of thy neighbor implies not merely care of his soul's salvation but also of the conditions in which this neighbor has to wander towards God here on Earth.

Kaluzynski further says "practicing politics at the altar" is a sin against the Holy spirit. This puts us into something like "theological fiction." All moral theologians, beginning with St. Augustine, say it is a sin against the Holy Spirit to despair--when a person doubts he or she can be saved--or to go on sinning carelessly in the hope that thanks to God's mercy he will be saved anyway. No definition of sin against the Holy Spirit has anything in common with politics.

Kaluzynski resents the expression "the Church [is] in the service of the nation" (as quoted from an Episcopate communique. He says, "it follows unequivocally from the Gospel that the Church is not to serve any particular nation but God" and wonders whether, if the Church in Poland is in the service of the Polish nation, then the Church, say, in Germany is in the service of the German nation, etc. But the Church was founded by Jesus Christ for man in order to serve man ("Mankind is the Church's path" says John Paul II) and guides man toward God. And this is true not only of man as an isolated individual but as a person who lives and develops in a community, including a national community. It is only too obvious that the Church which operates in a particular nation serves that nation, and no Christian would be shocked that the Church operating in the Federal Republic of Germany or in the German Democratic Republic serves the German nation. What must be remembered though, is that the Church carrying out its mission serves the true interests of man and the true interests of nations, and that these interests aren't mutually incompatible or antagonistic because they are implicit in the universal call on all mankind for fraternity.

Kaluzynski says the Church "backed three dictators--Mussolini, Franco and Hitler, without any reservations, for twenty years," and that "the first critical statement from the Holy See about Nazism was made--yes!--in June 1945." But dozens of example could be cited to illustrate the Church's and Catholics' opposition to fascism and dictatorships. Let me mention here just one document, namely Pope Pius XI's encyclical against Nazism called "Mit brennender Sorge" [With burning concern] (an encyclical published--as an extraordinary exception--in German so it could reach its addressees more easily) which was published in--yes!--1937.

Kaluzynski says he heard sermons in an Orthodox church in Moscow and in an Anglican church in London, and that it would be possible to publish both texts in the official press of the respective countries (the U.S.S.R. and Britain). From which Kaluzynski concludes that "a situation such as that which exists in Poland, namely one in which the Church defies the state, has at present no counterpart anywhere else." Let's not pursue the question of just why statements by the Church in Poland could not appear in the official press of our country, let's also forget that the contention that in Poland the Church is opposing the state is at least an oversimplification. But, what about there being no counterpart "anywhere else?" Does Mr Kaluzynski, who appears to read nothing but the Gospel, really know nothing about the Church's attitude towards the Governments of the Philippines, Chile, Brazile, Paraguay, or of a number of African countries, or even--in some respects--towards the U.S. Government?

One more point to finish this random pick of Kaluzynski's ignorance. He says that nowadays Poles have become "the most godless of all nations in Europe." To substantiate this baffling thesis Kaluzynski says he was at the stadium in Warsaw during the Pope's second trip to Poland and saw there was everything there--a spectacle, a ritual, a seance of collective ecstasy, a demonstration, a defiant challenge, a display of different hopes, all conceivable moods except one--that of religion. And that everybody was there--top churchmen, artists, proletarians and communists, and "only Jesus was missing."

Well, as Kaluzynski himself says, he wasn't the only one in the stadium that day, we all were, and we know how it was. I don't think this preposterous contention of Kaluzynski's requires any reply.

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POLAND

KOR SUPPORT OF CHURCH POLITICAL ACTIVITY CENSURED

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 28, 12 Jul 85 p 20

[Excerpts] It is more relevant to ask how Solidarity influenced the Church than how the Church influenced Solidarity? This is what Seweryn Blumsztajn had to say at a May 23 meeting in Geneva organized by a Socialist Committee of Solidarity of Socialists with Oppositionists in Eastern Countries. For some time now it has been no secret at all that people intent on overthrowing Poland's constitutional system are trying to exploit the Church for their ends. Those people include believers, but then there are also some who never had anything in common with religion before but now are eager churchgoers. These false friends of the Church are keen on using it as a tool for pursuing their goals. This is true of former KOR members, among others. Unfortunately, not all priests are aware of being treated instrumentally.

Blumsztajn's remark is not coming out of the blue. A former KOR member, he is also now among top members of a community which treats the Church as a tool in political actions. People such as Blumsztajn tend to play mentors vis-a-vis the church, dispensing praise as well as contumely to priests and bishops. On one occasion, for instance, they were infuriated by what Fr. Alojzy Orszulik, who heads the Episcopate's Press Office, had to say. They disliked his attitude toward KOR. So the Paris-based (Kultura launched an attack against Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński (in No. 1-2 of 1981), "The kind of policy the Primate and his aides are pursuing puts the Church's prestige at risk and may bring about deep divisions in the population, as well as in the Church itself. If this admirable unity of Polish society is seen to crack (...) if this happens to the true foundation of the Polish August, then--one more time in our national history--we may see the horrible shadow of a Missed Opportunity haunting us."

Representatives of this community have a good memory and are vindictive. Since the Church is an instrument which should sound the way they play it, they also want to tell the Episcopate what personnel decisions it is to make. In No. 3 of 1982 readers could read in Kultura, "It is high time to put an end to Fr. Orszulik's scandalous and lunatic enunciations. That all undoubtedly gives the Episcopate little reason for pride, because a better-qualified and more balanced spokesman could be found." In the same issue Kultura also attacked the Episcopate's Secretary, Bishop [Bronisław?] Dąbrowski. The KOR members know better than the Episcopate what the Episcopate needs. This is

true even today. The press in Geneva reported Blumsztajn's contemptuous remarks about the Church during the Primacy of Cardinal Wyszynski as well as his strong approval for what some priests are doing today. According to Blumsztajn, the Church in Poland no longer is that of the Wyszynski era when priests were busy making sure that children are taught catechism. Today, priests are politicians, economic experts, and cultural activists. Blumsztajn further lectures the Church on what it ought to do, praising it for what he likes in the Church. Blumsztajn is particularly happy about the Christian Culture Weeks, for during such events people discuss more than just religious matters.

Are all those who are manipulated in this way aware of who they actually are? It may be recalled that in an interview with Der Spiegel (No. 1/1982) Blumsztajn replied "Yes" to the question whether he would risk a European war to achieve the goals pursued by him and his likes, and whether his group realized the "possibility of a war between the Soviet Union and the Polish people."

The adventurism of some people who carelessly claim to decide the future of Poland and Europe is really boundless. No wonder, then, that they dislike a church which is busy with religious affairs. What they need is an instrument of politics.

God save us from such friends.

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POLAND

POLISH-SOVIET PEDAGOGICAL CONFERENCE IN WARSAW

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jun 85 p 4

/Text/ (Own report) "How to activate youth in the education process of patriotism and international socialism"--this was the topic of the Third Polish-Soviet Pedagogical Conference that was held in Warsaw from 24-26 June.

"One of the primary targets of the conference was an exchange of ideas, results of scientific research, and experiences emanating from educational practices in our countries," stated Professor Doctor Tadeusz Lewowicki, director of the Institute of Pedagogical Research and head of the Polish delegation. "We succeeded in arriving at a common definition of theoretical premises of educational work with our youths." A great deal of attention was given by the meeting participants to impending threats in our contemporary world, and to the matter of negative reactions on youth by various forms of ideological diversions. The phenomenon of a spreading tacit transfer of behavioral patterns or various fashions from the West was highlighted.

The third and last day of the conference was devoted to issues of Polish-Soviet friendship, as an important element to inter-socialist education.

The meeting was sponsored by the Institute of Pedagogical Research of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The Soviet delegation, consisting of 11 members, was headed by Professor Doctor Georgyi Filonow of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR.

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ROMANIA

BRIEFS

NEW DEPUTY MINISTERS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that the following comrades are appointed deputy ministers of the heavy equipment industry: Gheorghe Dinu, Constantin Dumitru, and Petre Fluture. The following comrades are appointed deputy ministers of the machinebuilding industry: Ilarie Munteanu, Constantin Teodorescu, and Serban Teodorescu. The following comrades are appointed deputy ministers of the electrical engineering industry: Gheorghe Boldur, Alexandru Stanescu and Nicolae Vaidescu. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 36, 29 Jul 85 p 3]

BRASOV APPOINTMENT--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Radu is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Brasov County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 36, 29 Jul 85 p 4]

REPLACEMENT OF AGRICULTURAL OFFICIAL--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Albuletu is relieved of his position as minister state secretary, head of the Department for Contracting, Purchasing and Storing Agricultural Products. Comrade Teodor Roman is appointed minister state secretary, head of the Department for Contracting, Purchasing and Storing Agricultural Products. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 34, 17 Jul 85 p 1]

BOTOSANI, TELEORMAN APPOINTMENTS--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Iulian Plostinaru is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Botosani County People's Council. Comrade Maria Stefan is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Teleorman County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 34, 17 Jul 85 p 2]

RECOGNITION OF RELIGIOUS LEADER--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that the priest Timofei Gavrilă is recognized in the position of metropolitan of the Old Rite of the Christian Faith to which he was elected by the Grand Council of the Old Rite Christian Church of the Socialist Republic of Romania on 30 May 1985. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 30, 18 Jun 85 p 4]

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